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Portrait of A Stubborn Man

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Far East

by V. WOLPERT

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The Karen Question

by ON PE

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by H. C. K. WODDIS

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EASTERN WORLD

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial, opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

INDONESIA

The U.N. Security Council resolution of January 28th—calling for an immediate end of all military action in Indonesia; the immediate and unconditional release by the Dutch of political prisoners and their restoration to their administrative functions in Jocja; the formation of an independent and sovereign United States of Indonesia by July 1st, 1950, and the gradual withdrawal of troops under U.N. supervision—has certainly been a step in the right direction. It will not satisfy, however, the Asiatic powers who participated in the Delhi Conference and who have made their attitude quite clear in the three resolutions which we publish in full in this issue. They will be disappointed in the Security Council order, as it does not provide for the immediate withdrawal of Dutch troops to the positions held prior to December 18th last. Under these conditions it will be impossible for the returned Indonesian leaders to attend freely to their “administrative functions” and it must be expected that the Asiatic powers will not allow the matter to rest at that stage. Dutch prestige, which has suffered heavily through the very fact of their military action, has further deteriorated owing to their ignoring of Security Council orders on the one hand, and because of the unreliability of Dutch statements on the other. On January 7th the Netherlands’ delegate to the Security Council informed members that the Indonesian leaders had been released, but that their freedom was temporarily limited to the island of Banka, off Sumatra. On January 15th members of the U.N. Committee

of Good Offices flew to Banka, where they found conditions entirely different. They revealed that the Indonesian leaders were confined to one small bedroom containing six beds and one other room, with wire netting. They were heavily guarded. On January 10th they had been asked to sign a pledge to refrain from political activities, in which case their families would be permitted to join them and they would be free to move about the island. Needless to say, none of the leaders signed the pledge. It is interesting to note that the Netherlands’ Government were compelled to issue a statement on January 17th, in which they regretted the treatment of the Republican leaders, which had not been in conformity with the relevant instructions issued by them. It announced that severe measures would be taken against those responsible. In other words, the Netherlands’ Government, who constantly accused the Republican Government of not being in full control of their administration, have now been forced to admit that they themselves are not always obeyed by their own officers.

VIET-NAM CRISIS

The rapid advances made by the Communist troops in China have forced the French Government to redouble its efforts to prop up the French-inspired provisional government in Viet-Nam. In the hopes of rallying popular support against the Communist-inspired government of Ho-Chi-Minh, attempts have been made to persuade ex-Emperor Bao-Dai to return to Viet-Nam as head of the state, but have so far failed owing to Bao-Dai’s reluctance to become a puppet of the French, who have not shown themselves willing to make the necessary concessions with regard to diplomatic representation, the formation of an army and a separate currency. Bao-Dai, now living in exile in Cannes, was visited in mid-January by M. Pignon, the newly appointed French High Commissioner in Indo-China, who had left Saigon in order to persuade the ex-Emperor to come to a decision. All he achieved was, apparently, that Bao-Dai made a statement which was broadcast to the people of Viet-Nam. In this he ex-

pressed his willingness to return as head of the new state, but only on his own terms. It is clear from the vague tone of this message that Bao-Dai has not made up his mind yet, and that so far no real concessions have been offered to him. As the French Government is said to have put a time-limit ending on March 15th to Bao-Dai, within which he will have to come to an ultimate decision, it looks as if he hopes to achieve greater concessions by postponing an agreement to the very last moment. It may, of course, also mean that he is very doubtful as to his chances against Ho-Chi-Minh. In spite of the singular lack of success of the French campaign in Indo-China, and the drain on French manpower and resources, Paris is still adamant in its unwillingness to negotiate with the nationalists of the Viet-Minh, although a section of socialist political opinion is in favour of doing so. Indeed, it seems that the French position in Indo-China is deteriorating so rapidly that in face of nationalist successes in surrounding countries, France will no longer be in a position to bargain.

JAPANESE ELECTIONS

General MacArthur, commenting on the general elections in Japan on January 23rd, said that peoples of the free world everywhere could take satisfaction in the results which “at a critical moment in Asiatic history, has given so clear and decisive a mandate for the conservative philosophy of government.” We doubt whether many of the “peoples of the free world” will share the Supreme Commander’s enthusiasm. The extreme conservative group known as the Democratic Liberal Party, which gained 259 seats out of a total of 455, is the direct successor of those interests which led Japan into the war and in thorough opposition to everything American democracy stands for. The other feature of the election is the astounding rise of Communist strength from 4 seats to 36, which, no doubt, is the immediate reaction to General MacArthur’s labour policy. The elections signify the complete debacle of the moderate parties and look like the failure of the much-publicised democratic educa-

tion programme rather than a reason for rejoicing.

CHAOS IN NANKING

The half-hearted "resignation" of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has only contributed to the chaos reigning in Nanking. The President has not made it clear whether he was going into exile or not, or whether he still hoped to build up a defence line to the south of Nanking and to transfer

the seat of government to Formosa or Canton. He has, however, appointed personal confidants to key positions in the south and in Formosa who owe allegiance to him only and who openly disobey the new acting-President, General Li Tsung-jen. The latter, a man of high integrity and with a real concern for the future of his country, will be envied by nobody. The Communists are too strong to listen to any peace proposals

which do not entirely conform with their own terms, and—owing to the impossible position in which he has been left by Chiang Kai-shek—General Li finds it difficult to carry out the conditions stipulated by them. In fact, there is no government left to face the Communists. All one can hope is that the slaughter will end soon and that the people of China will be given the peace for which they are longing.

THE KAREN QUESTION

by On Pe

RECENT reports (promptly and categorically discredited by Karen leaders) of the dropping of arms and ammunition by air, and also of a submarine supplying "war material" in the Tenasserim coastal strip have made the long-standing Karen question assume a more urgent appearance. This news was reinforced by dispatches from the districts, especially in Lower Burma, reporting raids and outrages by Karen brigands. Rumours and whispering campaign are now rife, and the misunderstanding between the Karens and the Burmese seems to have widened the gulf of estrangement.

The rift between the Burmese and the Karens has its origin in history. The Karens served as guides for the English expedition against Ava during the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1826. This infuriated the Burmese who naturally wanted to take revenge after the war. The revenge bred deeper ill-feeling, and when the second Anglo-Burmese war came in 1852, the Karens openly led the British forces to Rangoon, the strongest Burmese bastion. The Burmese wreaked vengeance on the Karens by burning down their villages, and when the third Anglo-Burmese war came to wrest independence from the Burmese, the Karens joined up with the British, and the Karen levies rendered "distinguished service."

This "loyalty" of the Karens to the British seems to have constituted the chief cause of alienation between the two peoples of Burma, who were otherwise living together peacefully. The British had found in the Karens an excellent "raw material" which could be moulded into reliable puppets. The Karens, when the British came to rule Burma, were still backward. They had no written language and it was a "white man" (or rather two men) who gave them a system of letters. A certain Dr. Wade, a missionary, adapted the *Sgaw Karen* dialect for writing, while some time later a Mr. Brayton followed his example and introduced an alphabetic system for the other principal dialect, *Pwo Karen*. The Karens received another "gift" from the "white man"—Christianity. Prior to the British annexation of Burma, the Karens were mostly animistic. It was due to the unremitting efforts of the British (and American) missionaries of the earlier days that the Karens, especially those speaking the *Sgaw Karen*, embraced Christianity.

During the British regime in Burma, the Karens obtained all the advantages of benign rule: education, protection from their imagined fear of the Burmese, prosperity (for they had since the annexation come to the plains to work side by side with the Burmese), religion, culture emanating from it and literature. So the Karens naturally looked to the British (the "Younger White Brother" of the Karen legend) for leadership. The Karens are a simple, peace-loving and honest people, and their imagination seems to be influenced by their innate simplicity. This is evident in the fact that the Karens felt helpless when the British effected a "successful withdrawal" before the invading Japanese forces. At such a psychological moment, some expansionists among the British in Burma had incited the Karens against not only the Japanese but also against the Burmese. Thus in the throes of a foreign invasion, misdirected groups of Karens started a clash with the Burmese in the areas where the Karen population dominated. Although further aggravation was obviated by a settlement between the Burmese and the Karens, there remains in the history of the two nationals of Burma an indelible "scar."

This possible recrudescence was foreseen by the late "Bogyoke" Aung San, who had clarified the position of the Burmese after Burma's independence. He had ensured that the Burmese showed a gesture of goodwill to the hill peoples, especially the Karens, by proposing to reserve many high posts in the Burmese Government for their leaders. Even during his time, when Burma's independence was only in the offing, he included in his cabinet leaders of these peoples.

While all other hill peoples had a separate State with geographical boundaries ready for recognition as such, the Karens who have throughout modern times been living together with the Burmese in the plains had not a geographical State to call their own. This has deterred the Burmese Government from granting them an autonomy as in the case of the others, and most of the Karens seemed happy about the temporary lack of a separate State at the time of adoption of the Constitution for an Independent Burma. It was only in February, a clear month later, that Saw Ba U Gyi, leader of the K.N.U. (Karen National Union) made a public demand for a separate State for the

Karens. The Constitution provides for the possibility of a separate Karen State: "The following areas, viz. (a) the Karenni State, (b) the Salween District and (c) such adjacent areas occupied by the Karens as may be determined by a Special Commission to be appointed by the President shall, if the majority of the people of these areas and of the Karens living in Burma outside these areas so desire, form a constituent unit of the Union of Burma to be known as the Karen State which shall thereupon have the same status as the Shan States." The status of the Shan States simply means that of an autonomous State.

There is nothing to prevent the granting of the Karens' legitimate demands, and the Burmese Government is willing and prepared to fulfil their aspirations. A Commission, called the Regional Autonomy Commission, was recently appointed by the President to determine all the claims of the indigenous Burma nationals for respective autonomous States.

It is evident that the Karen question is a simple one which should not lead to any controversy, much less an armed settlement and the legitimate claim of the Karens will most certainly be granted by the Burmese Government. But from this issue there has arisen much misunderstanding and mischief. The intervention of "certain British subjects"* has done much damage to the relations between the two groups, who could and did live together in harmony and with good neighbourly motives.

The question has at present become very grave. The Karens seem divided. Many of them under the banner

of the K.Y.O. (Karen Youth Organisation) are happy to co-operate with the Burmese Government. The leaders of the K.N.U., such as Saw Ba U Gyi, have on many occasions declared that they were against any undemocratic procedure for claiming a separate Karen State. While they were thus making such solemn declarations in Rangoon, some of their followers were fighting the Government forces in the delta area or in the Tenneserim region. Meanwhile, it transpired that the Karens' claim for the area to be marked off as their State had become too large to be accepted even as a basis for discussion. The Karens, it seems, want to have the whole of Lower Burma, that is, all the lands south of 18 deg. latitude, the richest part of the country—the rice bowl of Burma. The claims are preposterous, but the Regional Autonomy Commission is reported to be patiently working out a just and equitable award.

The latest situation in the country, being so serious, might prompt the Government to take drastic action against the insurrection. According to reports received from the outlying areas, it is evident that many of the Karens who have now taken up arms are not really fighting for their cause, but have often lapsed into sheer brigandry, for which a "police action" may be necessary in the interests of law and order.

(At the time of going to press, the Karen revolt has actually broken out. The port of Bassein was attacked on January 28th by insurgents, who are said to have been joined by Karen troops stationed in the town.—Ed.)

FRENCH POLICY IN INDO-CHINA

by L. Rodard (Saigon)

SINCE the rupture with Ho-Chi-Minh in December, 1946, French policy in Indo-China has tended to replace the original interpretation of the conflict there, namely Resistance versus Occupation, by a new term—Anti-Communism versus Communism.

In spite of the fact that the objective has always been the ensuring of French permanency, important concessions have been made to Viet-Nam nationalism. This operation was complicated both by the prestige of Ho-Chi-Minh and the meticulous organisation of Viet-Minh. It has, nevertheless, produced certain results mainly because the non-Communists belonging to Viet-Minh were afraid, before the division of the world into two blocs, of finding themselves in the wrong camp. The situation is still characterised by a deadlock. The disintegration of Viet-Minh has not been considerable enough to affect its activities and the French have scarcely made any military progress for a year. This stalemate has been accentuated by the failure of the French Chamber to ratify the agreement signed by the High Commissioner, M. Bollaert, at the Bay of Along. This agreement was weakened by internal contradictions resulting from the juxtaposition of such terms as "Independence"

and "French Union." In fact, this voluntary misunderstanding expresses on both sides a desire for a compromise—a desire brought about by the fatigue of three years of war. However, the present state of affairs in Indo-China can only be understood by a more precise analysis of French action in both the military and political spheres.

It appears that the French, at the end of 1946 or the beginning of 1947, could have easily destroyed the Viet-Minh forces, which at that time, especially in Cochin China, were still nothing more than poorly armed bands. This opportunity was lost because the French expeditionary force consisted of new troops who were accustomed to the battlefields of Europe and Africa and who could not adapt themselves rapidly enough to the special technique of guerilla warfare. The situation became critical by the summer of 1947 partly because the Viet-Minh had an efficient military organisation but more particularly because the French were suffering from an acute crisis which affected their supplies. As a result of the repatriation of troops on a large scale without their corresponding replacement, the Expeditionary Force was reduced by half, and within the space of a few months it decreased from 120,000

to about 60,000 men. The loss of many essential specialists forced the Government hastily to adopt the classic practice of enlisting native troops, using mainly the Cambodian minorities of Cochinchina. As a result of this, local recruits soon formed two-thirds of the French forces. Owing to the need for numeric superiority in anti-guerilla warfare, the French restricted themselves for a time to the control of towns and certain essential routes. They conducted small operations elsewhere, without achieving any big results. It was then that certain officers introduced into Asia the methods used by Lyautey in Morocco, namely the disintegration of the Viet-Minh by diplomatic means.

In the absence of organisations as simple as the tribes of Morocco with their "caids," the French had to deal with complex and ambitious organisations, with veritable theocracies which were already private states with their own hierarchies, administrations, armies, taxes and judicial systems. This has been particularly the case in Cochinchina with Caodism and Hoa-Haos. Militarily speaking, the French could thus do without a great number of battalions but at the same time they created for themselves a good number of political and military complications. This applies particularly to Caodism, a sect which was founded about 1930. It concerns the cult of Cao-Dai, the supreme and mysterious Being, who manifested himself on earth in the shape of a number of gods, prophets and great men. In brief, Caodism seems to be a form of theosophy, created by a compilation of other religions. It now has its holy city, erected in a clearing of the forest near Thai-Ninh in Cochinchina. The essential force of this movement is its imitation of the Catholic hierarchy—priests with their parishes, bishops and dioceses, and a "college" of cardinals dominated by the Pope Pham-công-Thac. As a religious movement with material interests it inevitably aspired to temporal power and this at first took the form of anti-French nationalism. Caodism, after having supported the Japanese policy, played a leading role in the Viet-Minh front. After several months, however, the basic antagonism broke out between "atheistic materialism" and "enlightened spirituality." Caodism, placed between a dangerous rivalry and an old quarrel, finally chose the least dangerous line.

It was thus that contacts with the French changed into an alliance at the beginning of 1947. French fears of a double game with Viet-Minh proved to be unfounded. The rupture was irreparable, and the Caodists created a "crack" army to fight Viet-Minh technique. This brought peace to certain districts, but a peace which was entirely Caodist. The Caodists have now spread all over Cochinchina and even reached Tonkin, while the number of the faithful has grown in several months from 400,000 to nearly two million. Further, Caodism has carefully maintained its good relations with the French. It is merely striving now to nibble at the Viet-Nam Government and above all to control the future army of independence. The French, who have utilised the Caodists to a great extent, are not without some anxiety at present, for they wonder just how far Caodist ambitions will go.

Other associates of the French are the Hoa-Haos, who number nearly a million. They are primitive peasants from

Bassac, fanaticised by their late leader, Hynh-phu-So, the "Mad Bonze." At first, they were fierce enemies of the French, but after the "Mad Bonze" had been assassinated on the orders of Nguyen-Binh, the military chief of the Viet-Minh in Cochinchina who wished to rid himself of a rival, they became their allies. The Hoa-Haos are now commanded by a veritable war-lord, "General Suoi," and they maintain order in all the districts between Vinh-Long and Can-Tho. However, their future seems uncertain. In fact, these warriors have but little prospect in the arenas of peace. The latest recruit has been M. Bay-Vien, the chief of the Binh-Xuyen, who in times of peace practised the dangerous profession of piracy, but later became the chief suppliers of money to Viet-Minh.

This coalition of French, Caodists, Hoa-Haos and others resulted in nothing more than a status quo. Viet-Nam, and more particularly, Cochinchina still remains an intricate puzzle of pacified zones, zones of uncertainty and zones that are purely Viet-Minh. Neither of the two camps can score a decisive victory—the difference is too great in methods, tactics and territories. Even though losses may be severe on one side or the other, there is more co-existence than confrontation. The daily life of the people has adapted itself to the situation. In spite of guerillas there is a semblance of economic unity, based on reciprocal necessities, the French needing rice for their towns and Viet-Minh requiring piastres for their purchases. This tacit agreement avoids mutual strangulation, and no one loses "face"—the necessary compromises are left to those intermediaries *par excellence*—the Chinese.

However, it is evident that the French will not be content for long with this state of equilibrium. Given the fact that they wish to remain in Indo-China, they are faced with a dilemma—either to send considerable re-inforcements there or else to pacify the enemy. The first hypothesis being practically excluded, the only solution remains, politically speaking, to recuperate the "nationalists" of Viet-Nam—the term "nationalist" meaning the opposite of pure Communist. However, decisions are no longer made in the rice fields or in the streets, but by the furtive contacts of agents, in the conversations of politicians and in the debates of the French Parliament. Even though Viet-Minh may still be effective in guerilla activities, it is nevertheless menaced from within for the Iron Curtain which divides the world is beginning to implant itself in Viet-Nam, throwing all those who are not "Reds" into the same camp.

French policy aims at the formation of a government which would be a pole of attraction. Originally, however, it was entirely the opposite. In 1946, Admiral d'Argenlieu created a Cochinchinese Government both to foil Viet-Minh and to oppose the union of the three Kys (Cochinchina, Tonkin and Annam). This policy, in spite of the wave of nationalism, rested on the widespread fear that the Cochinchinese, rich and relatively happy, have always felt towards the poor but energetic Tonkinese. It rested, too, on the fear of the landed bourgeoisie that Cochinchina was under a financial obligation to support the rest of Viet-Nam. These anxieties manifested themselves in an autonomist movement whose slogan was "Cochinchina for the Cochinchinese."

What changes have taken place since then? The unfortunate government has become a powerful organism and has completely changed in tone. From separatism it has switched to unionism and from republican it moved to Bao-Dai-ism. It is the Cochinese middle classes who have revised their opinions. They put their case very simply—why should they be “more royalist than the king?” why should they cling to a separatism renounced by the French? They have therefore become converted to a parliamentary monarchy, with the hope of Cochinese predominance in a unified Viet-Nam. Such seems to be the idea of General Xuan, the originator of this central government.

In reality this Cochinese Government which manifests itself so openly at Saigon, has no real power in the rural districts. It is, in effect, divested of an army. That does not prevent its president, the powerless M. Huu, to conduct a grand policy of disassociation, recuperation and integration—based on the incapacity of the French to finish the war. The object is the constitution of Viet-Nam forces with the supplies wrested from Viet-Minh.

The French, in pursuing their alliances with the various sects for reasons of immediate utility have, however, left complete freedom of manoeuvre to General Xuan and to President Huu in their new policy. The agreement of the Bay of Along according independence to Viet-Nam has only been signed to give more weight to the movement. The logical consequence ought to be a solemn ratification, which itself would have to be rapidly followed by negotiations on the instruments of power (customs, army, diplomacy) and finally by the return of Bao-Dai. As the result of their last-minute hesitations the French are losing time which they will be obliged to make good.

In fact, Viet-Nam tactics have exploited very adroitly this recoiling. They act as if the principle of independence had nevertheless been recognised by Paris in order to confront the French with this dilemma: either to accede to the practical consequences, or to assume the responsibility for a refusal. In the latter case the edifice of coalition will crumble and France will only be able to remain in Indo-China by virtue of the number of battalions which will have to be sent there.

SIAM: COCKPIT OF ANGLO-AMERICAN INTERESTS

by H. C. K. Woddiss

SIAM is increasingly becoming a focal point in South East Asia, as she was on the eve of the Second World War. Then it was the rival interests of Britain and Japan which were predominant. Today it is the interests of Britain and the United States that dominate Siamese policies.

Recently Mr. MacDonald, High Commissioner for South East Asia, flew to Bangkok for talks with Pibul Songkram, the Siamese Premier. Pibul is the man who opened the gates of Siam to the Japanese in 1941, declared war on Britain and America in 1942, and accepted the rank of Major General in the Japanese Army. He has been repeatedly denounced as a war criminal. He was placed on the war criminals' list by the first post-war Government of Siam. The authoritative Chinese paper, *Ta Kung Pao*, called for his punishment in 1945. And in December, 1946, he was denounced in London by Lord Mountbatten of Burma as a “Japanese-sponsored quisling.”

Today this same man receives high praise from many sections of the British press. He is hailed as the “strong man of Siam.” *The Economist* warmly approves his regime as “an anti-Communist bastion . . . well worth the careful attention and support of the Western Powers.” And the *Times*, which last May denounced Pibul's accession to the Premiership as “a real blow to the growth of

democracy,” today finds no cause for criticism.

Pibul's rise to power has only become possible through the backing he has received from outside. After the war there was a succession of governments in Siam. It had been assumed by Britain that the United States would regard that country as in the “British sphere of influence,” but an American nominee, Momrajawong Seni Pramoj, who had been Minister to Washington during the war, was flown back to Siam to become Premier on September 17th, 1945. He did not last long, however, and in March, 1946, Nai Pridi Phanomyong, who was more friendly disposed to the British Government, became Premier, to be replaced several months later by Luang Thamrong Nawasawat.

For a time it seemed that with the Thamrong Government the people of Siam would enjoy democratic government. There was, however, unbridled corruption throughout the entire administration and in the Government itself. Living conditions did not improve and racketeering increased. Both Royalists and Fascists took advantage of this situation to wage a vigorous campaign against the Thamrong Government. The effect of this drive undoubtedly contributed greatly to the seeming indifference towards the coup d'état which put the Thamrong Government out of office in November, 1947.

The coup-d'état of November, 1947, was planned and carried out by Pibul, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and

Fascist leader, in unity with the Royalists, grouped in the Democrat Party, and led by Khuang who then became Premier, only to be ousted later by Pibul himself. Pibul represents the profiteers and black marketeers who made huge fortunes during the Japanese occupation. It is alleged that financial aid was forwarded to Pibul prior to the seizure of power from the American Embassy via the Chinese Embassy which is supposed to have actually handled the transactions. Khuang is a wealthy *compradore* and landowner and represents these same groups. Thamrong and Pridi represented a liberal group of capitalists who looked more towards the British Government than the United States.

Had Pridi and Thamrong taken decisive action in rallying the people after the coup d'état it is likely that Pibul and Khuang could have been ousted without great difficulty. The navy, sections of the army and air force and police would have backed Pridi and Thamrong. But complete lack of confidence in the people prevented any steps being taken. After it was too late, when the Fascists and the Royalists had consolidated their power, Thamrong handed over a fortune to two naval chiefs to begin armed resistance. These two merely pocketed the cash.

Immediately after the coup d'état there arose acute differences between the Royalists and Fascists, based on the economic rivalry of the two groups. Khuang had succeeded in excluding the Fascists from the Cabinet and set about gaining control of banking and rice in Siam. The Pibul group had bought large interests in the Bank of Ayuthia. Khuang had this Bank and others closed, thereby widening the Royalist-Fascist rift. Khuang also attempted to gain control of all rice mills in Bangkok—he already owned about half of them. But this scheme was blocked by two strikes successfully carried out by the workers acting in agreement with the owners of the threatened mills.

An election was held in February, 1948, and the Khuang Government was returned. The Fascist Party (Tharmathipat Party), formed shortly after the coup d'état, gained no seats whatever. A rally held under the slogan "Pibul for Premier" on February 8th was an utter flop. Some idea of the attitude of the people towards the political scene may be gained from the fact that only 27 per cent. of eligible voters participated in the elections.

Khuang continued as Premier for a month, only to be ousted by Pibul. The vote of confidence in the Pibul Government taken on April 21st, 1948, showed 70 in favour, 26 against, and 67 abstentions.

American support had been given to Khuang by the payment of several million dollars for deliveries of tin, although this payment had been withheld from the Thamrong Government. Whilst supported by the United States Government, Khuang, a rabid Americanophile, lacked the political skill and force which Pibul possesses. Accordingly America chose Pibul—and Pibul became Premier.

To gain mass support, Pibul has been insidiously encouraging the rather strong anti-Chinese feeling that exists in Siam. Attempts are being made to weaken Chinese influence in commerce by granting special rights to an ex-servicemen's organisation controlled by Pibul. In addition, almost all Chinese schools have been closed, and a number of Chinese people arrested. The reasons for

the anti-Chinese campaign are understood more clearly when it is realised that the three million Chinese form one of the most politically alert sections of this 18 million strong nation. The majority of them are workers and form the backbone of the progressive trade union movement. Further, a majority of Chinese nationals in Siam are highly critical of the Chiang-Kai-shek regime, and are bound to be greatly influenced by the Communist victories in China.

British and American interest in Siam is not hard to understand. One look at the map will explain that. To the south lie Malaya and Indonesia now in the midst of war; to the east is Viet-Nam in a similar plight; to the west is Burma torn by civil war; and to the north, China.

These political and strategic considerations brought Mr. Malcolm MacDonald recently to Siam, so soon after the South East Asia Conference in Singapore. Present at this latter Conference were Mr. MacDonald, the British Ambassadors and Consular representatives from China, Burma, Siam, Indonesia, and French Indo-China, the Governors of Hong Kong, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak, and the C-in-C. Far East Land Forces, the Naval C-in-C., Far East Station, and the Air Officer-in-Chief, Far East. This Conference, probably without precedent in Asia, was called to consider the likely effect in South East Asia of the impending Communist victory in China.

But there are other considerations, too, that Mr. MacDonald must have had in mind when he stepped off the plane at Bangkok. Siam's 800,000 tons of rice exports a year make it a major source of rice supplies in South East Asia, especially now that Burma is in the throes of civil war. Siam also has tin, rubber, pearl fisheries and teak wood, and abundant supplies of cheap and relatively poorly organised labour. Further, Siam is an important market for British goods.* Exports from Britain to Siam in August, 1948, totalled close on £300,000 compared with a monthly average of less than £100,000 in 1938. (This figure does not include the considerable volume of British goods re-exported to Siam from Hong Kong and Singapore, for which no statistics are available.)

Formally independent, Siam in reality has for many years been the pawn of the Big Powers. Up to 1945, British and Japanese influence was paramount. Today it is mainly that of Britain and America. It is this interplay of rival interests which largely explains the extreme instability of Siamese governments. Siam has had no less than 22 cabinets in sixteen years—nearly half of them since 1945.

Britain's interest in Siam is a long-standing one. For sixteen years an Englishman, Doll, has been supervising Siam's finances. For many years Siam's tin has been exported to Malaya for smelting. And trade, banking, and teak have remained largely in British hands.

At the end of the Second World War, British business interests in Siam seemed secure. But meanwhile American businessmen had been entering the field. Pibul found no difficulty in adapting himself to the Americans. A report in the *New York Times* stated last summer that he was "friendly towards the Americans and welcomed American trade and business undertakings in Siam." The facts certainly bear out this contention. Before the war there were two American firms in Bangkok. Now there are thirty. The tin ore which formerly went to British-owned

smelters in Malaya, now goes direct to Longhorn, Texas, U.S. The Americans are buying up rubber, rice and other raw materials. It is intended to open up an American branch bank in Bangkok, and so loosen the British monopoly on foreign loans for various projects, and already an American company is engaged in enlarging the aerodrome near Bangkok to a size where it will be possible to accommodate the largest aircraft. There is a virtual monopoly held by American Airways on all transport lines connecting Siam with the outside world. A continual increase in imports of American mass-produced goods is adversely affecting numbers of small businesses in Siam, especially around Bangkok, and American films and magazines are to be seen in increasing numbers. The Siam Foreign Office has an American adviser, Mr. Patton, who is consulted on all major policy questions.

It has been alleged that in order to prevent the stability of the American-directed Pibul Government, British agents have fomented discontent amongst the Malay population in South Siam—Patani—and unrest has reached considerable proportions.* There is adequate reason for this unrest, for the Patani Malays are subject to extortion by corrupt officials. There are no schools provided for them though many of them can speak no Siamese. There have been reports of religious persecution, too. Although the leadership of the Malay nationalist movement in Siam is similar to that of the UMNO in Malaya, the movement is an expression of the just demands of an oppressed

national minority for cultural autonomy. British agents are said to have supplied the Patani Malays with arms and have trained detachments of them in Malaya. It is worth noting that the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on December 2nd, 1948, that 5,000 badges, carrying crossed kris (daggers) surmounted by the Union Jack, with the words "New Malaya" in English, had been engraved in Singapore, allegedly for a secret organisation plotting a revolt in Siam's four southern provinces.

Undoubtedly the events in Malaya itself will influence both the British Government and Pibul as to how they handle the question of the four southern provinces; and doubtless this was one of the matters discussed by Pibul when Mr. MacDonald flew to Bangkok. Meanwhile Pibul, in quaint defiance of all geography, has assured a British correspondent that he "considers Siam as one of the *Western* (sic!) nations in the present conflict with the Communist East." Such assurances as these have no doubt weighed heavily with the British Government. It is reported that military equipment sufficient for eight battalions will be supplied to Pibul by Britain, as well as £5 million worth of railway equipment, which also has its obvious military uses.

British people, with bitter memories of the Siam Death Railway on which hundreds of British soldiers died, will look with disapproval at the present events in Siam. They make a mockery of the aims for which the war was fought.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

by Mary Klopfer

LAST June a conference met in Paris at which representatives of anti-imperialist and national movements in 37 countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, discussed the problems of the struggle against imperialism. The Conference established the "Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism" for the national liberation and independence of the colonised peoples and to prepare these peoples for social liberation through true democracy and for the international unity of peoples in a democratic federation. The delegates from Britain and the British Empire prepared a declaration which was endorsed by the international conference in which they stated: "We accept unequivocally and absolutely the right of every people to national self-determination and pledge our full and complete support to the national liberation movements in the Empire in the achievement of this right."

In addition to the International Committee, Centres were to be set up in Paris, London, Asia, Negro Africa, North Africa and, if possible, Holland. Anti-imperialist and national movements will thus be organised regionally and affiliated to the Congress through their regional centres. The Paris and London Centres have been in full operation for some time, those for Asia (in India), in North Africa

and Negro Africa are in the process of formation. The following organisations are associated with the Congress and most of them have already confirmed their full affiliation:—Socialist parties of India, Pakistan, Viet-Nam, Ceylon, All-India Peasants' Congress, national liberation movements of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Kenya, Senegal, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Madagascar and the movement for the United Socialist States of Europe representing the French and Luxembourg Socialist Parties, the Italian (Saragat) Socialist Party, the Independent Labour Party and many other organisations. In London a permanent office has been established at Swaraj House, Percy Street and the centre has taken the initiative in organising an international protest against Dutch aggression in Indonesia which culminated in simultaneous demonstrations in London, Paris, India, Pakistan and elsewhere on Indonesia Day, January 16th.

The Congress believes that its work will make a major contribution to the emancipation of the colonial peoples by enabling them not only to express their solidarity with each other and the truly anti-imperialist forces in Europe but also to co-ordinate their action on a practical level.

THE DELHI CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA

THE Delhi Conference on Indonesia met from January 20th-23rd, 1949. Convoked by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, it was attended by delegates from 15 countries (mentioned in the resolutions) and by observers from China, Nepal, New Zealand and Siam. Turkey was the only country which refused to participate. Three resolutions were passed which, owing to the importance of the conference, are here given in full.

Resolution One.

"This Conference of the representatives of the Governments of Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen;

"affirming their support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the obligations of all member States to accept and carry out decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter;

"having considered the situation in Indonesia in the light of all available data, in particular the reports submitted by the Good Offices Committee of the Security Council;

"being of the opinion that the Dutch military action launched on December 18th, 1948, constitutes a flagrant breach of the Charter of the United Nations and a defiance of the efforts of the Security Council and its Good Offices Committee, to bring about a peaceful settlement;

"noting that the Netherlands authorities have failed to give full effect to the resolutions of the Security Council adopted after that date;

"finding that this action is directed against the very existence of the Republican Government, which the Security Council and several member Governments of the United Nations, including the Netherlands Government itself have recognised;

"conscious of the danger to the peace of South East Asia and of the world through a continuance of hostilities in Indonesia;

"recognising that the people of Indonesia are entitled, according to the principles of the Charter, to independence and the exercise of full sovereign rights;

"recognising further that the maintenance of international peace and security and the development of friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples constitute the high steadfast purpose of the United Nations;

"firmly convinced that the Security Council is properly seized of the Indonesian question as a breach of peace and an act of aggression under Article 39 of the United Nations Charter;

"recommends to the Security Council of the United Nations:—

(1) "That the members of the Republican Government, other Republican leaders and all political prisoners in Indonesia, be immediately restored to complete freedom.

(2) "That the Republican Government be enabled to function freely, and to this end, (a) the residency of Jogjakarta be handed back immediately to the Republic,

and the Netherlands authorities refrain from taking any action that may interfere with the effective functioning of the Government of the Republic. That the Government should also have facilities for communication and freedom of consultation throughout Indonesia.

"(b) Such areas of the islands of Java, Sumatra and Madura as were held by the Government of the Republic on December 18th, 1948, be restored to the Republic not later than March 15th, 1949. (c) Dutch forces to be withdrawn immediately from the residency of Jogjakarta and progressively from the rest of the Republican territory, such withdrawal to be effected in stages and under conditions to be prescribed by the Good Offices Committee, or any other body to be appointed by the Security Council, and to be completed not later than March 15th, 1949.

"(d) All restrictions imposed by the Netherlands authorities on the trade of the Republic be immediately removed and pending the formation of an Interim Government, the Republican Government be afforded all facilities for communications with the outside world.

(3) "That an Interim Government, composed of the representatives of the Republic and the representatives of territories in Indonesia, other than those under the authority of the Republic, commanding the confidence of the Indonesian people be formed not later than March 15th, 1949, with the approval and assistance of the Good Offices Committee, or any other body that may be appointed by the Security Council. Pending the result of the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, referred to in the paragraph below, no regional governments shall be formed or recognised.

(4) "That subject to the provisions of paragraph 5, such Interim Government shall enjoy the full powers of Government, including control over its armed forces. To ensure this, all Dutch troops shall be withdrawn from the whole of Indonesia on a date to be determined by the Good Offices Committee or any other body appointed by the Security Council. Pending such withdrawal, Dutch forces shall not be used for the maintenance of law and order, except at the request of the Interim Government, and with the approval of the Good Offices Committee or any other body that may be appointed by the Security Council.

(5) "That the Interim Government shall have such freedom in external affairs as may be determined in consultation with the Interim Government and the Netherlands authorities by the Good Offices Committee or any other body that may be appointed by the Security Council.

(6) "That elections for a Constituent Assembly of Indonesia be completed by October 1st, 1949.

(7) "That power over the whole of Indonesia be completely transferred by January 1st, 1950, to the United States of Indonesia, whose relationship with the Netherlands shall be settled by negotiations between the Governments of the United States of Indonesia and of the Netherlands.

(8) (A) "That the Good Offices Committee, or any

other body appointed by the Security Council, be given authority to secure application of the foregoing recommendations under the supervision of the Security Council, to whom it shall report as frequently as may be necessary.

(B) "That in the event of either party to the dispute not complying with the recommendations of the Security Council, the Council shall take effective action under the wide powers conferred upon it by the Charter, to enforce the said recommendations. Member States of the United Nations represented at this Conference pledge their full support to the Council in the application of any of these measures.

(C) "That the Security Council be pleased to report for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly at its adjourned session commencing in April, 1949, measures taken or recommended by the Council for the solution of the Indonesian problem and action taken by the parties concerned to give effect to these measures."

Resolution Two.

"In order to ensure close co-operation among themselves on matters dealt with in Resolution One, this Conference recommends to the participating Governments, whether Member States of the United Nations or not: (A) That they should keep in touch with one another through normal diplomatic channels; (B) That they should instruct their representatives at the headquarters of the United Nations or their diplomatic representatives to consult among themselves."

Resolution Three.

"This Conference expresses the opinion that the participating Governments should consult among themselves in order to explore the ways and means of establishing suitable machinery, having regard to the areas concerned, for promoting consultation and co-operation within the framework of the United Nations."

THE DECAY AND DISAPPEARANCE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

by Francis Story (Benares)

ALTHOUGH Buddhism was a predominant influence in India for about seventeen centuries, during which time it coloured the whole of Indian thought and left indelible traces on its later development, it cannot be said that India was ever completely Buddhist in the sense that Europe was to become Christianised. From the beginning there had been a section of religious opinion that resisted its liberal doctrines and outlook, as it resisted the extreme asceticism of Jaina, a contemporaneous religious movement.

The rise of Buddhism began to be most strongly felt during the Asokan period (272-232 B.C.), and it was in the eighteenth year of his reign that the third great Council was held at Pataliputra. Buddhism continued to dominate religious thought, culture and the social pattern throughout the Mauryan period, but in 185 B.C. it received a setback when Pushyamitra Singha assassinated the last Maurya king and himself ascended the throne of Magadha. He at once proclaimed his adherence to traditional Brahminism by performing the Asvamedha horse-sacrifice to establish his paramouncy. An implacable enemy of Buddhism, he re-instituted the Vedic animal-sacrifices, demolished many Buddhist monasteries and persecuted and killed the monks.

A succession of rulers after Pushyamitra favoured Buddhism and Brahminism alternately until the rise of the Guptas in 319 A.D. Samudra Gupta, although a follower of Brahminism, was well disposed towards Buddhist scholars and extended his royal favour to the great philosopher Vasubandhu. The same king also entered into friendly alliance with Meghavarna, the Buddhist ruler of Ceylon.

The decay and final disappearance of Buddhism from its land of origin is usually ascribed to a combination of

three major causes: the influence of Shankaracharya, the Brahminical revivalist of the 6th Century A.D., internal schism and conflict through the adoption of non-Buddhist cults and, finally, the Muslim invasions which resulted in the destruction of the principal monasteries and ultimately of the great universities which had been for centuries the seats of Buddhist culture and the centres from which missionaries, from the time of Asoka, had spread throughout Indian and beyond, to Greece, Scythia and eastward into China and Korea.

There has been a tendency to over-estimate the part played by Shankaracharya in the downfall of Buddhism. The fact that there were great Buddhist centres of learning as late as the 11th Century, when Mohammed of Ghazni conquered Benares and began a systematic programme of extermination, proves that the influence of Shankaracharya had not been strong enough to absorb Buddhism into the Vedic systems. The religion, although it had altered much in character with the passage of time, continued to be a strong current in Indian life until as late as the 14th Century.

Had Buddhism been in a healthy state during the period between Shankaracharya and the Muslim persecutions, it is doubtful whether the reactionary Brahminical movement or the depredations of the invaders would have been enough to destroy it, but the pure religion and moral philosophy of the Buddha had become tainted by the arising of heretical groups within and the introduction of impure elements from without. The essential tolerance of Buddhism was at once its strength and its greatest weakness. It gave a resilience to the religion that enabled it to adapt itself to many different conditions, modes of life and indigenous cultures, so that it flourished in lands far

removed from its birthplace, but its weakness lay in the unauthoritarian nature of its organisation and the looseness of its doctrinal structure. As a church it was without any central authority, with the result that it too readily absorbed alien ideas, and heretical sects sprang up to flourish unchecked, despite sporadic attempts to keep the Sangha (or Order) orthodox. These efforts were made from time to time but, significantly, they did not come from within the Sangha itself, but were usually instigated by pressure of circumstances. In any case, expulsion from the Order of any group of monks in most cases meant nothing by the formation of a fresh school, each one successively weakening the authority of the central tradition.

Some of the sects that arose in this way were of a highly undesirable kind, particularly those based on Saivite Tantric cults which consisted of divination, necromancy, various kinds of enchantments and the cultivation of supernatural powers, following very closely lines familiar to students of European witchcraft. It was through them that the Sakti (female-consort) cult became prevalent. Whereas Buddha had taught a discipline of celibacy for monks and a strict moral code for laymen, the Sakti cult encouraged its priests to have wives and consorts, and the rituals in which they jointly took part were based upon erotic mysticism. Padma Sambhava (circa 747 A.D.), the "Wizard Priest" who introduced his own form of Buddhism into Tibet, was a Tantric specialist from the University of Nalanda, and himself had two consorts. The story of Buddhist degeneration during this period is outlined in the chronicles of Lama Taranatha. His semi-historical, semi-legendary work, written about 1573, presents a depressing picture of the degradation into which Buddhism was falling. Its disintegration was undoubtedly aided by Brahminical enmity, which worked from within to destroy the unity of the Sangha, and which was directly responsible for many of the schisms that split the church. This undermining process had begun very early in Buddhist history. The pillar-edicts of Asoka testify to his anxiety to preserve the purity and solidarity of the Sangha, which had been continually threatened since the time of the second Council of Vaisali, when the Vajjian monks were expelled from the Order. The Second Council was held only a hundred years after the death of Buddha.

It was the breakdown of Buddhist moral standards that gave a considerable impetus to the reaction towards a rigid and formalised Vedic pattern of life. All over India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, were to be found groups centred round teachers whose degraded magical practices and disreputable character did not prevent them from being honoured as saints by their infatuated disciples on account of the supernormal phenomena they were able to produce under certain conditions. The Buddha had strongly condemned such methods of gaining converts, on the grounds that the possession of supernormal faculties did not necessarily indicate a high level of spiritual attainment, and that preoccupation with such matters was an obstacle to the seeker after enlightenment.

Because of this state of affairs, the followers of Shankaracharya were able to point an accusing finger at the state of Indian society and to attribute its breakdown to Buddhist liberalism. Buddhism had abandoned caste, which, they asserted, was designed to preserve the social

structure, it had neglected formalised religion as exemplified by Vedic sacrifices and had encouraged independence of thought, thereby giving an opening to the heretical views that were rampant. This charge was brought despite the fact that the Tantric cults that were the cause of the trouble had been introduced by Brahmins into Mahayana Buddhism from the worship of Siva. It was a period of disruption and religious anarchy, in which Shankaracharya stood for a return to the established order of things which the Brahmins had always looked back upon as the Golden Age of Aryavarta. These traditionalists gave eager support to the campaign for the destruction of Buddhism, which had deprived them of their hereditary position in the community and taken from them the benefits of the sacrifice and their priestly offices.

The chief difficulty they encountered was the personal influence of the Buddha, which as a tradition was still strong after several centuries. They could not lay the responsibility for India's decay at his feet, because his teaching had never countenanced such abuses. In the popular mind the Buddha remained the greatest figure of history; his doctrine of universal compassion, purity and brotherhood was sufficiently well known, despite the decay of religion, to make it a formidable obstacle to any regressive movement. The problem before the Brahmins was to discredit and destroy the religion without attacking the great founder.

They solved it in a peculiar way. It was the age of the Puranas, the legendary tales of gods and heroes, and among the legends that were growing up were those concerning the Avatars of Vishnu, the Preserver of the Universe who is said to have had ten incarnations at different times in world history when the decay of righteousness made his presence necessary. The Buddha was given a place in the Vishnu Purana as the Tenth Incarnation, but it was said that he took that incarnation to deceive the enemies of the gods with false and atheistical doctrines so that they should be debarred from attaining perfection. Thus, when he taught that animal sacrifices were evil, that holiness did not depend upon caste but upon purity of conduct, and that there is neither a creator-god nor soul, it was said that these doctrines were proclaimed by the "Great Delusion" for the destruction of those whom the gods feared. The morality of the supreme Deity resorting to such subterfuge is reminiscent of that of the Old Testament Jehova, who "hardened the heart" of Pharaoh against the Israelites so that he would have a reason for destroying the Egyptians. Such was the success of this subtle device of the Puranic age that to this day Buddha is worshipped as an Avatar of Vishnu in India, while his teachings are repudiated.

It should not be thought that the decay of Buddhism at this time was universal. There were still great monastic institutions that were faithful to the pure religion, and whose leaders looked with misgiving on the state to which Buddhism had been reduced.

When the first Muslim invaders came, the Buddhist monks, who had heard certain reports of them and their way of life that predisposed them in their favour, were ready to welcome them as a purifying and invigorating influence in Indian society. They had heard that the Muslims did not practice sacrifices, had no caste system,

and esteemed morality as they themselves did. But when the invaders arrived their hopes were brutally shattered. The Muslims did in fact possess many of the virtues with which they had been credited, but with them went a religious fanaticism and intolerance that would stop at nothing, and for them life had not the sacredness it had for the Buddhists. Neither had they any great respect for learning or culture. The monasteries were torn down, the monks expelled or slaughtered if they resisted, and in some cases were forced to discard their robes and take up military service under the conquerors.

It has been claimed by Hindu critics of Buddhism, notably Swami Vivekananda, that the Buddhist principle of non-resistance and refusal to take life, together with the fact that Buddhism had encouraged young men of the Kshatriya (warrior) caste to enter monasteries, had weakened the resistance of the country. The point, however, is extremely controversial, since Buddhism has

produced no such failure in other countries, for instance Burma and Ceylon, where it has flourished in purity since the days of Asoka. The princes of India had often relied upon Ceylon to give them military support, and had frequently called upon their Singhalese allies in time of warfare, although Ceylon had always remained true to the original Buddhist way of life. In India it was not Buddhism, but the decay of Buddhism that caused the weakness—a weakness that still remained after India had reverted to Brahminism.

Whatever may be the truth of the matter, the Muslim conquest sounded the death-knell of Buddhism in India, and from that time forth the Brahminical movement started by Shankaracharya centuries before grew in strength. The original four castes were sub-divided into many minor classes and the system took on a rigidity it had not possessed before, so that progressive and liberal thought in India came to a standstill until the present day.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

by F. L. Gupta (New Delhi)

AN enormous task lies in before the anthropologist in India. The study of the physical characters of the people is still incomplete while that of their deep-seated physiological characteristics has yet to be taken up. The social organisation, religion and customs of vast numbers of Indian are still scantily recorded and imperfectly understood. The great fields of criminology, tribal art, primitive linguistics, the application of modern psychological examination to aboriginal peoples and the economics of the countryside, urgently require investigation.

An ethnological survey of the country was started by the Government of India towards the beginning of this century. For various reasons, however, it had to be abandoned prematurely. In 1916, while the Zoological Survey of India was reconstituted out of the old Zoological and Anthropological Sections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, anthropology continued as a small section under that Survey. Progress in the various branches of this subject was, therefore, very slow. It was only as late as December, 1945, that the nucleus of the Anthropological Survey of India (now the Department of Anthropology) was formed. A five-year plan was then formulated covering: (i) Physical Anthropology; (ii) Biological Investigations and (iii) Cultural Studies.

Physical Anthropology.

In the programme under the head Physical Anthropology, the pre-human remains similar to those found in China, South Africa and Java, the presence of which is suggested by the occurrence of such early forms as *Sivapithecus* and *Ramapithecus* have to be explored. The human remains discovered by archaeologists at Mohanjadaro, Harappa, Taxila, Ujjain and prehistoric sites in Central and Southern India have to be studied and the skeletons of the existing population have also to be examined by means of X-rays. Some collections of Indian crania made by the Royal Asiatic Society and the Indian

Museum already exist, but further efforts are necessary for the collection of authentic crania and other bones from hospitals, burial mounds and river beds. Well planned research has also to be undertaken on the skeletal variations of Indians, their comparison with races of other parts of the world and their linkage with the inhabitants of the past and on how far variations have taken place due to miscegenation and changes in environment.

Biological Investigations.

Biological investigations are important for the formulation of a sound policy for the raising of the physical standard of the population and for the creation of public opinion in favour of measures for controlling and multiplication of congenital defectives and hereditary criminals. The lines of investigation proposed under the five-year plan include: (1) The rates and pattern of growth, differences in the metabolic behaviour of the people due to differences in protein intake and climatic conditions, variations in the sex-ratio and differential rates of fertility, differences in vital capacity and psychological behaviour in various races; (2) Human genetics including serology, normal range of variability in man, hereditary defectives, anomalies and malformation, hereditary basis of criminal propensities, feeble-mindedness, hereditary characters of palmar pattern and other tests in dactyloscopy for the detection of criminals and (3) Study of marriage customs, so varied in different parts of the country, in the light of modern concepts of the science of genetics.

For the study of the rate and growth of pattern, reliable data are needed on groups of children through a number of years among different sections of the population, while researches in human genetics have to be pursued by the collection of pedigree of hereditary defectives and field work and laboratory studies on twins, on the effect of race crossings in the contact zones among different ethnic

groups, on the nature of the crosses, hybrid vigour and hybrid sterility, etc.

Cultural Studies.

The knowledge of the institutions of tribal folk and the various progressive groups in the country can go a long way in stemming the disruptive forces of racial prejudice and communal animosities born of ignorance and lack of appreciation of the habits of life and modes of thought of each other. Such knowledge is sure to lead to the development of harmony in the country and act as a cementing force.

The Department of Anthropology has, however, to give priority to the study of tribal institutions at the outset. The tribal mind, unable to adjust itself to the rapid changes brought about by civilisation, is apt to lose interest in life and this attitude is leading to serious depopulation. This lethal process has in fact been already noticed in the Andamanese, the Todas, the Chenchus, the Kadars and the Lepchas of Sikkim. The study of their institutions, therefore, brooks no delay if the proper measures are to be formulated in time for the adjustment of tribal folk to the changing conditions and also to ensure fair play and justice in their administration.

The special subjects that have to be studied are:

(1) *Primitive economics*, like the problems of land alienation, debt readjustment of aboriginal methods of cultivation to the new conditions, etc.;

(2) *Primitive Technology and Art*. Such a survey is expected to lead to improvement in cottage industries and as far as art is concerned to bring valuable accessions to the museums of the country and to suggest new lines of art training for aboriginal schools;

(3) *Primitive linguistics*. Qualified philologists in the Department will make a survey both by script, record of the speech and music of the people, study the social implications of language and continue work on the classification of the Indian tongues;

(4) *Folk-lore*. The stories, legends and songs of the countryside have great value as they indicate the artistic and literary instincts of the people, and illustrate their fundamental religious and social ideas which reveal the unity of modern, tribal and classical India. One fact worth mentioning here is that text books prepared from local songs and stories have proved very popular in village schools. This section of the Department has been placed under the charge of a Sanskrit scholar.

(5) *Primitive Psychology*. A study of the psychological reactions due to the rapid cultural, religious and economic changes is essential for proper administration of the tribal populations.

(6) *Primitive Crime and Tribal Law*. The local customary law of many tribes is often at variance with the official codes and leads to hardship and delay in the courts. A beginning has been made by the Bihar Government in codifying the Santal tribal law, but the Department of Anthropology has to study the subject on an all-India basis.

Work Done So Far

Detailed study and restoration of the skeletal materials from Harappa have been undertaken. These fragile remains suffered greatly by being shifted from Calcutta to Dehra Dun during the war and then again to Banares and by the subsequent damage caused by the great Varuna flood of September, 1943. The greater part of repairing and restoration has now been completed and so has the larger portion of the dia-photographic tracing of skulls which were ruined by flood water. Much progress has also been made in the study of the bones. Two reports, one on the animal remains from Orikamedu and the other giving a preliminary account of Harappa skeletons excavated this year, have been drawn up. Preparation of a comprehensive report on the cultural and racial affinities of the primitive tribes of India and the problems affecting their administration in the light of experience of tribal peoples in different parts of the world have been completed. Maps illustrating the distribution of these tribes and their proportionate strength have also been prepared.

A party under Dr. Verrier Elwin went to the hills of Orissa where he made a special study of the religion of the Lanjhia Saoras, while members of the party investigated the economics and physical characters of the people at various times from 1946 to 1948. In May, 1947, and again in 1948, Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, led a large expedition to the Jaunsar Bawar area and valuable work was done both on the physical side and in investigating the psychology and sociology of the inhabitants, whose social customs present problems of peculiar difficulty and complexity to the administration. Scientific investigation has been started regarding the application of mental tests to school-going children in Banares for the assessment and gradation of their mental abilities in order to provide norms for comparison with the results of similar tests on children of primitive races. At the beginning of 1948, Dr. Guha took a party of investigators to the Andaman Islands in order to make an up-to-date physical, social and economic survey of the aboriginals.

The Anthropological Department of India publishes twice a year papers by its members and is training post-graduate students, some of whom may be sent to Europe and America for advanced studies. It is also proposed to offer research facilities to foreign anthropologists.

INDO-TIBETAN TRADE AND ROUTES

by Lt.-Col. D. MacD. Fife

IN the month of July, 1948, a party set out from Almora in the Kumaon Division of the United Provinces, and took some of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes to Tibet, where they were duly immersed in Lake Manasarowar. On return to India, the leader of the party (Har Govind Pant,

M.C.A.) stressed the urgent need to improve communications between the two countries, in order to give a fillip to Indo-Tibetan trade.

There is a general impression among Western peoples that Tibet is a bleak and barren land, with primitive

customs, and little trade or commerce. This is not true of Tibet as a whole. Western Tibet is certainly no agricultural country, and the small crops of barley, mustard and peas are confined to areas with a good water supply. But it has fine pasture lands where excellent sheep, horses, goats and yaks are raised. Then there are plentiful deposits of salt, borax, saltpetre and soda. Sheep's wool forms the most important export from Western Tibet. The under-combings from a breed of small goats gives the Pashm that goes to make the delightfully soft Pashmina shawls and sheets.

There are ten routes into Western Tibet from India. From the north downwards, they are: (1) From Srinagar in Kashmir, up the Indus valley, and then to Rudok and Gartok. (2) From Kangra and Lahaul to Rudok. (3) Through the Kulu Valley to Gargunsa. (4) The Simla route, which follows the valley of the Sutlej before taking one over the Shipki and Sirang Passes to Gartok. (5) There is a choice of several passes from Tehri, Garhwal and Kumaon. (6) The Lilang Pass for Chaprang. (7) The Mana and Niti Passes for Toling, Daba and Gyanema. (8) The Untadhura, Janti and Kungri Bingri Passes also lead to Daba, while a little further south comes the Darma Pass at 18,510 feet for Gyanema, and the Lipu Lekh Pass at 16,780 feet through which most of the Taklakot trade passes.

The Kashmir situation has meant that much of the trade that formerly used the northern routes is now coming through the Kumaon Passes. The routes are passable during the months of July, August and September. The inhabitants of Bhot are the great traders from India who

use the Kumaon routes. Bhotias live in the little strip of Kumaon that lies around the snow peaks of Kamet, Nanda Devi, Trisul and Nanda Kot. Theirs is a real nomadic life.

By the end of October each year, all the Bhotias will have moved down from their high homes, and from then until April they live a camp life in the sub-Himalayan tracts. The traders take the goods that they have brought from Tibet down further to the market towns of Haldwani, Ramnagar and Tanakpore. This is the time when Tibetan wool, saltpetre, borax, musk and skins are sold, and Indian goods bought to take into Tibet. Exports from India are mainly grains, sugar, tobacco, cotton piece-goods, hardware and cooking utensils.

In April, the Bhotias begin their trek back to their homes in the high hills. By the end of June all are once more installed in their houses. Then the first Tibetan convoy starts off, and returns with new goods by the end of July. The womenfolk start wool-spinning, while the men go off again with their second load of Indian exports, and return with yet another load of Tibetan goods by the end of September.

It is surprising to find that all this trade is transported on the backs of sheep and goats. Surprising, that is, from the Western point of view. But, in fact, this is the only possible form of transport, for the route lies along tracks that no animal, and certainly no form of mechanical transport could surmount. And it is difficult to see how the route can be improved to any great extent. There now exist three good motor roads into the Kumaon area. One from the Kodwara Railhead to Chamoli serves the Garhwal district. Another from Ramnagar to Ranikhet, where it

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The Route of the Magic Carpet

links with the road from the Kathgodam Railhead, serves the centre of Kumaon. The third is now under construction, and will link the Tanakpore Railhead with the more eastern parts of this hilly area.

These motor roads are very good and useful to the peoples of Kumaon, but they really do not do much to help Indo-Tibetan trade. It is the route through the passes which is the deciding factor. The amount of trade is governed by the amount of transport that can go through these passes before the snow comes and makes them impassable. Once the passes are closed, then the trader has six months at his disposal before he need be off again. So it is only natural to find that he has no use for motor transport. He takes his Tibetan trade goods right down to the railhead by his own sheep and goat transport. Motor transport would also mean increased expenses, and a general rise in the cost of Indian goods would affect the value of Tibetan exports, since the trade is mostly run on

the barter system.

The remainder of the Indo-Tibetan trade is along the Kalimpong-Lhasa route, with a small trickle that still comes and goes through the difficult Nepal Himalayas. It is unfortunate that there are no known trade statistics, but there are indications that the demand for Indian goods in Tibet has increased.

In the past it was China that conducted the biggest business with Tibet. The communications between the two countries are better than those between Tibet and India. Then there was the added inducement of cheap Japanese cloths, rubber shoes and fancy goods. It can be assumed that China is no longer able to trade with Tibet to the extent that Tibet requires. And Japan presumably does no trade with her at all. Here, then, is India's opportunity to step in, and take over this fascinating, and by no means negligible trade.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Anglo-Indian Relations in 1849

by Geo. J. S. King

THE passing of time brings sweeping changes in policies and ideologies, and with recent events in India a vivid memory it is piquant to recall that just a century ago an expansionist policy in that country had reached what was, perhaps, its peak. The Dalhousie regime was just beginning, and when the year 1849 opened the Second Sikh War was in its most crucial stage. In January the indecisive action of Chillianwalla was fought, but in the same month Mooltan, where the trouble had begun, was captured, and the final victory at Gujerat followed in February.

The war was now virtually ended, and, in token of submission, the Maharajah presented the great "Koh-i-Nur" diamond to the Queen. Dalhousie had resolved on the annexation of the Punjab, and on March 29th the Maharajah agreed to a treaty by which he transferred his dominions to the East India Company in return for a handsome annuity, and took up residence in England as a pensioner. A Marquisate was the reward of Dalhousie.

When, at the beginning of the year, the Sikh campaign appeared to be progressing unfavourably, that great old veteran Sir Charles Napier was named Commander-in-Chief in India, although the East India Company was markedly reluctant to show favour to an old campaigner with whom it had a long-standing feud. But public opinion was too strong for mercantile opposition, and at the age of sixty-seven, still suffering from old wounds as well as from incipient mental illness, Napier again turned eastward. In the words of Thackeray, he "took his two towels, his piece of soap, and his scimitar, and went away to the ship that was to carry him over the sea."

The decision to annex the Punjab was not unanimously approved. One contemporary account said "We protected our ward by taking his whole territory from him—it is the old fable of the wolf and the lamb." Napier

himself was opposed to annexation; and so was Sir Henry Lawrence, who wrote to a friend: "I am sorry that you have taken up the annexation cry. It may now, after all that has happened, be, in strictness, just; but it certainly is not expedient."

But what were these among so many? Dalhousie was supported by the throne, by Parliament, and not least by the great British public. Dalhousie's own attitude was frankly opportunist. He wrote:—

"I cannot conceive it possible for any to doubt the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states . . . in the midst of them . . . for adding to the resources of the public treasury; and for extending the uniform application of government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby."

The approval of the Queen was whole-hearted, and expressed itself in her commendation in a letter to the Premier (Lord John Russell) on May 26th, in which she wrote:—

"The Queen has to say, in answer to Lord John Russell's communication respecting India, that she quite approves the annexation of the Punjab, and is pleased to find that the Government concurs in this view. The elevation of Lord Dalhousie to a Marquisate is well deserved."

Meanwhile, the by no means still small voice of the new Commander-in-Chief was raised in a remarkable prophecy:

"I see," he wrote during 1849, "the system will not last fifty years. The moment these brave and able natives know how to combine, they will rush on us simultaneously, and the game will be up . . . If ever mischief comes in India it will come like a thunderbolt."

Napier was writing just eight years before the Mutiny, and was something like a century out in his forecast, for he frankly did not expect the Empire in India long to survive, and four years later made up his mind that it was crumbling fast, writing to Lord Ellenborough to that effect.

There were many Britons whose notion of India and things Indian were of the vaguest. Reference has been made to Thackeray, but Thackeray, who was born in India, and had an Indian background (as Kipling subsequently had) was in a different category. It was otherwise with Thackeray's great rival, Dickens who, during 1849, was enthralled the literary world with the successive numbers of *David Copperfield*. Dickens knew little of India, fittingly, therefore, the hero of his creation admitted to ignorance:

"I recollect it was settled by general consent that India was quite a misrepresented country, and had nothing objectionable in it but a tiger or two, and a little heat in the warm part of the day . . . I looked on Mr. Jack Maldon as a modern Sinbad, and pictured him the bosom friend of all the Rajahs in the East, sitting under canopies, smoking curly golden pipes."

Another publication of 1849 was Cunningham's famous *History of the Sikhs*, and its appearance was opportune in view of the Sikh campaign.

Eastern seas were then far from safe, but in that year of grace 1849 determined attempts were made, both in Chinese and Malayan waters, to extirpate piracy, the actor on the Malayan stage being the famous "Rajah" Brooke, whose methods, incidentally, were the subject of hostile criticism in Parliament.

When the still immature Disraeli made his first great stride towards political distinction in 1849, by becoming Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, none could have foreseen that he was destined, in the fulness of time, to make Queen Victoria Empress of India. Still less could one have surmised that the son born to the seventh Duke of Marlborough, on February 13th that year, was to

give himself the privilege of adding Burma to the Empire—and it was paradoxical that it was to secede almost exactly a century after the birth of the man who acquired it. This son of the Duke of Marlborough was Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Mr. Winston Churchill. One of the outstanding episodes in a distinguished though short career was Lord Randolph's regime at the India Office, which was notable not only for the Burmese annexation, but for the settlement of the Afghan frontier question with Russia.

There was a striking link between the old and the new in India in 1849 in that on January 1st the Earl of Auckland died—the Governor-General who developed trade and improved native schools (but was discredited by the disasters of the Afghan War of 1838-41); whereas on May 16th the ninth Earl of Elgin, who was Viceroy within the memory of many of us, was born. Another representative of the old order was Sir Charles Forbes, who died on November 20th. His life had been devoted to India and what he had done for that country was generously recognised by its people who raised the sum of £9,000 for the erection of the famous Chantrey statue in the Town Hall of Bombay. In the same year were born two Indians who were to play a part in the administration of their own land. Lalmohun Ghose (December 17th) was the first of his countrymen to attempt to enter the House of Commons, and was the greatest Indian orator of his day. Syed Ameer Ali (April 6th) was a distinguished leader of Moslem India, and was the first Indian to become a Privy Councillor, founding the first Moslem political organisation in the country.

ROMANCE OF OLD WORLD TRADING ROUTES

by E. R. Yarham

THERE was a highway from the Shan States to China long before the Chinese carved their famous Burma Road that way in 1938, and before the new Ledo Road was cut during the war. But these were not the first roads. There had always been one, centuries before Marco Polo used it when he rode with the armies of Kubla Khan. And only a century ago it was called the "Ambassadors Road," because the envoys of the King of Burma regularly went that way, bearing tribute to the Imperial Court of China. This is not the only ancient highway that has been put to more modern use in recent days. Motor buses are now rumbling through the heart of Central Asia along the famous "Silk Road," first made known to the Western world by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century.

For hundreds of years the route has been used by slow-moving caravans and pack-trains, carrying furs, jade and oriental silks. They took three months on the way; now buses cover the 2,000 miles between Chungking and Tihua (Urumtsi) in three weeks. From there a motor road links with the Soviet city of Alma Ata, and the development of the route not only provides China with a valuable link with Russia, but is a big step in the improvement of China's own communications.

The Silk Road is one of the most historic of the great highways which were thronged with traffic in medieval times. The history of civilisation could largely be written around these routes, for their importance in the drama of human endeavour cannot be exaggerated. This was becoming increasingly realised before the war, when historians and archaeologists were paying more and more attention to them.

Lower Burma was crossed by one of the oldest of such routes, the one between India and the Far East. A few years back the late Sir Francis Younghusband, veteran explorer, and the first British representative in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, was in charge of an expedition excavating sites along this road. The route crossed peninsular Siam at the only latitude which provided sheltered anchorages on both coasts, which were at the same time connected by what were formerly deep rivers running from the narrow watershed, affording a nearly unbroken waterway across the peninsula.

The two most powerful Old World empires to establish trading routes early in the history of civilisation were Egypt and Babylonia. In their case it is possible that raids and forays marked the commencement of the interchange

of goods. The fact that each had merchandise of value to the other may have been an accidental discovery resulting from the spoils of war, but as time went on it seems the people realised peaceful trading was more profitable than constant fighting. Palestine lay between the two, and a great amount of merchandise passed through it, and whoever controlled that country had command of the routes leading to the east and north, and then west to Europe. Thus for centuries there was extreme rivalry over the possession of it, which explains why the Israelites were always struggling for their freedom.

The earliest trade routes, therefore, were established, as it were, as a result of accidental discovery of the value of goods. Gradually with the passage of time, these routes were extended further east and north and west, until both Europe and the Far East were contributing their quotas of wealth. Men became more venturesome, and the Phoenicians established the first great sea routes in the history of the world, sailing, it is believed, as far west as Britain. Overland another route traversed Asia Minor, and linked up Europe. Pointing towards the East yet another road led to Persia, and the wealth of the Far East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route the British archaeologists explored, and then up the Persian Gulf, and overland westwards.

The rise of the Greek Empire, which subdued Persia, led to changes and further developments in the routes, although their main directions were unaltered, and it was along the ancient trade tracks between east and west that the riches of the world continued to flow in increasing volume. One led up the Red Sea, which was dotted with important commercial stations, to Alexandria, and an alternative route from the Indian ports led to the head of the Persian Gulf, as mentioned above, from whence the goods were taken overland by desert caravan. It is believed that nearly 2,000 years ago the Greeks were aware

of the sea way to China via India, for their venturesome pilots thought nothing of the crossing from the Red Sea to India, accomplishing it regularly.

These two main sea routes were supplemented by the great overland road through Asia and China which, it is believed, established contact with western civilisation early in the Christian era. In times of peace this highway was far more convenient and quicker for the goods of Northern India and China than the ocean routes. The cost of travelling by land was greater, but the expense was more than counter-balanced by the high value of the goods carried, which were generally light and of small bulk.

Several notable routes stretched overland westwards from China, and they converged on the important markets of Samarkand and Bokhara. These were great junctions, for there the caravans from China met those coming from India, and there too the termini of the routes from the West were met. These ancient trade roads linking East and West maintained their supreme importance until the fifteenth century, when the discovery of the New World and the Cape Route to India and the East completely altered the course of world trade, and the sea became predominant for a long period.

The Cape route to the East played an increasingly important part in the commerce of Europe, and for practically three centuries it was unassailed. Not until the cutting of the Suez Canal was transport once more diverted through the Mediterranean. Towards the end of the eighteenth century came the settlement of Australia, and this was followed by the Australasian route during the last century.

To-day traffic is being increasingly diverted back overland, via the air, and at the present time aeroplanes are regularly travelling over the track of the ancient trade route between Egypt and Babylonia, one of the oldest in the world.

NOTES FROM SHANGHAI

by J. R. Kaim (Shanghai)

WHILE military and political developments in China may depend on the stronger battalions and economic developments on the goodwill of all parties concerned, the people of China and their desires, hopes and goals will remain the same as they used to be twenty years and twenty weeks ago.

Already in October it was difficult to find convinced supporters of Chiang Kai-shek among both university people and businessmen. They were against the "Gimo" not only because in their eyes he represented the most reactionary quarters of China, but also because he was the one man responsible for the breakdown of General Marshall's negotiations in 1946. Marshall, it will be remembered, had gone to Nanking to put through the plan of the late President Roosevelt for a Chinese coalition government composed of Kuomintang people and Communists. Whether, as some assure, the Communists put

too many obstacles in the way or, as many believe, Chiang was the more stubborn one—the Marshall mission was a failure. On various occasions Chiang then predicted it would take him so many months to beat the Reds. Instead, they conquered Manchuria, almost the whole of North China and large areas of Central China.

Shortly before the Communist conquest of Manchuria, the Nanking Government had promulgated a new currency, the Gold Yuan, and had suffered a terrific defeat also on the financial front. Furthermore, while the new yuan's buying power decreased rapidly, Chiang's son who had been appointed economic dictator of Shanghai as well as of three provinces, ruthlessly persecuted small and big businessmen accused of hoarding, black marketeering and speculating in foreign exchange. At first, the masses were extremely pleased to see "big shots" arrested and even executed. But after some time they grasped that with their

incomes frozen while prices advanced, and with strikes prohibited it was by no means the little man who could enjoy the existence of a regime so very close to terror.

People also made Chiang Kai-shek responsible for the increasing extent of incompetence and corruptness of his officials and a great number of his army officers. However, anyone with some knowledge of Chinese history must admit that similar conditions existed at almost any time and under all sorts of regimes. Yet, the people wanted a scape-goat and Chiang, admired throughout the years of his fight against the Japanese, was the one man whom they considered responsible. If he were to go, they said, the way would be free for a coalition government. Of course no realistic politician believes that the Communists would share power with right wing Kuomintang people. The Communists promised land reform: right wing Kuomintang members are landowners. The Communists hate the gentry, hate all sorts of mandarin-like officials, dislike the profiteers many of which are members of or closely linked to the Chiang clan.

What the Communists will decide with regard to foreign interests in China no one can foretell. Everything may go on smoothly for some time, but may change after a while. Many old China hands were in favour of a return to the old "gun boat policy." They wanted Tientsin, Tsingtao and Shanghai to be occupied by foreign troops so that the whole coast from the north down to Hong Kong would be safe. Then, they wanted to wait and see. They did not care for treaties, nor did they feel regard for China's position as one of the Big Five. They desired safety first. However, they were considered old-fashioned and reactionary and the best they could achieve was that about 600 U.S. Marines were sent to Shanghai "not to defend the city but to protect American property" and that British and French warships cast anchor in Shanghai harbour.

Had the policy of the old China-hands been followed, matters might have developed otherwise, but the sympathies of the Chinese people in general would certainly not have

been with the foreign powers. Occupation of the three big ports would have been regarded as a violation of treaties even if the temporary character of the whole scheme had been made very clear. Not only would foreign troops have been in control of Chinese territory and not only would no Chinese have believed that the occupation was temporary, but no doubt all the most despised political racketeers would have sought a refuge under foreign protection and the Kuomintang might have established its offices right under the noses of British gunners. These the old China-hands assured would have been minor evils. They wanted no experiments, no false hopes, no "perhaps" and no "may be;" they wanted marines, guns and a display of power similar to the international action during the Boxer war. Nor did they care whether the Chinese Communists were Bolsheviks or just Chinese rebels and whether they were under Moscow's orders or independent.

Who was right, the old China-hands or the middle-of-the-road diplomats led by American policy only the future can teach. But it goes without saying that foreign interests in China may be endangered, though this does not mean that they will be lost; the Communists have proved extremely clever politicians who no doubt will be interested in getting foreign aid when it comes to realising their much heralded industrialisation programme. Whether one can come to lasting terms with a totalitarian regime and just how totalitarian the Chinese Communists will be, no one can yet know. Many Chinese believe that the Communists are not interested in running the country alone and that they would prefer to come to a compromise with democratic groups. Still hoping there might be a chance of peeping into the future, hundreds of thousands of Shanghai Chinese nowadays are asking the fortune tellers and astrologers; but all they are told is that the future is gloomy and that somehow there will be fighting in this country throughout the next hundred years. The tragic thing is that even those who distrust the prophets believe that this time they are right.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK : Portrait of A Stubborn Man

by Robert P. Martin (Nanking)

A LIBERAL Chinese magazine recently published an article analysing the reasons why China can have no peace. The article ended with this sentence: "The course of history could be changed by one small resignation." The writer, a prominent professor, was too polite, or too fearful, to name the one who should resign. But every Chinese who read the article knew instantly that he referred to President Chiang Kai-shek.

It is one of the supreme ironies of history that Generalissimo Chiang, up to the time of his resignation was the only force still keeping the Chinese Government from collapsing, while at the same time he was the one man

who, in the opinion of every foreign observer and most Chinese leaders, had to resign or go into exile. Chinese leaders expressed their viewpoint to this correspondent as follows: "The Generalissimo knows he is disliked and that everybody wants him to go. But he has an overpowering sense of duty. He believes that he is saving the world from Communism. He realises he is the only man holding the Government together, and he will not give up. But he fails to understand that his stubbornness is destroying China and the non-Communist Chinese."

The great tragedy of Chiang Kai-shek was that, although of peasant extraction himself, he failed to under-

stand China's peasant revolution, which he had helped to guide in its infant stages. For one of the simple facts of history is that the Chinese Communist revolution, condemned by the West as inspired by Russia, is based solidly on the principles enunciated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "Father of the Chinese Republic," and accepted by Chiang Kai-shek when, in co-operation with the Communists, he led the 1926-27 nationalist revolution which united China.

Not even when the Kuomintang was tottering under the Communist onslaught late in 1948 did the Generalissimo recognise that the solid base of his Government, the people of China, had been swept away in the backwash of his own failings. With magnificent courage, and not much else, he pledged to continue the war. His zest and spirit carried even his lukewarm followers along with him. Perhaps they remembered that the Generalissimo in 1938, almost single-handedly held China together when his country faced defeat by Japan and many of his advisers advocated peace. Perhaps they expect him to repeat that miracle.

But there is one vital difference between the China of to-day and that of 1938. This time Chiang was fighting Chinese, not an alien power. And unlike 1938, Chiang to-day has lost the faith and confidence of the Chinese people. Even industrialists and businessmen, who have most to lose by a Communist victory, are almost united in their outspoken belief that a coalition, including Communists, should come to power because "nothing could be worse than the present Government."

Chiang was not a dictator, in the Western sense of the word. He is a superb politician who has kept himself in power by delicately balancing rival political, military and economic groups. His "divide-and-rule" policy has permitted him to retain the balance of power. He is not personally corrupt, but he has tolerated corruption to an extent that is almost unbelievable. It was this corruption that gave the Communists their easiest victories. Corruption destroyed the morale of the army and civilians alike. Generals refused to fight because it was immensely more profitable to build tiny kingdoms of their own which they sucked dry of all wealth. The Nationalists had an army magnificently equipped and trained by the United States, but the army was destroyed by the dry rot of corruption and inept leadership. Civilians were burdened by heavy taxation, conscription and outright confiscation. Officials and the very rich escaped these penalties, and at the same time increased their power enormously. Intellectuals, students and liberals, hounded by the police, turned to the Communists as their only hope of survival. And the peasants, even though they were not Communists, welcomed anything that took the war away from their villages and destroyed their corrupt leaders.

When the history of the civil war is written, it will be found that Chiang Kai-shek defeated himself. His greatest weakness was his vanity; he considered himself a military genius. Defeat after defeat, foretold by his best military advisers, seemed only to increase his self-confidence. He relegated his best generals, who also were the ones who told him the truth, to subordinate positions. Trusted but less-than-mediocre generals who had been defeated by the Japanese and the Communists were placed in responsible positions solely because the Generalissimo knew they would obey his orders. This in turn reacted against the

Generalissimo's judgment. His commanders could not or would not tell him the truth. He was plagued with inaccurate intelligence reports, and the political rivalries of his generals meant that there was no co-ordination among the field armies. When the Generalissimo offered Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, one-time Chief of Staff, command of the armies defending Suchow, Pai turned the offer down because the Generalissimo would not give him absolute command. And the Generalissimo did not trust Pai enough to fulfil his condition. When Sun Li-jen, perhaps the most brilliant of the young Nationalist generals, protested against Chiang's order to break up the crack American-trained and equipped New First and New Sixth Armies in Manchuria and fill out their ranks with recruits, the Generalissimo listened carefully and then told Sun to "shut up." Sun was demoted to a training position. Many months later, after the divisions had been broken up and their fighting spirit destroyed, Sun's point was proved. These troops surrendered in wholesale lots to the Communists.

Chiang Kai-shek ignored the 1945 advice of Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, who warned him not to go into Manchuria until he had consolidated his position in China. The Generalissimo ignored the advice of other Americans and his best Chinese generals to pull out of Manchuria a year later because it was sapping Nationalist strength. As a result of these two great blunders, Chiang lost his best troops and most of his American equipment. By November 1948, Chiang had lost 234,000 rifles, 160,000,000 rounds of ammunition, all contributed by the United States, and one-third of his remaining American equipment. These losses paved the way for the disastrous defeats which came in quick succession the last two months of 1948.

Despite the obvious signs of impending defeat, the Generalissimo remained as calm and confident as ever. He has always been noted for his temper, however, and under the strain of present difficulties probably flew into a rage more often than usual. At any rate, numerous stories are told about his fits of temper and his black moods.

The Generalissimo, at 62, lives an austere life. Prior to his resignation and departure from Nanking, he rose at 6 a.m. and spent perhaps an hour in meditation and prayer. He worked for a time on his diary, and then ate a light breakfast of rice porridge, noodles or dumplings. Clad in a padded long Chinese gown, he spent most of the morning in his unheated study, poring over war maps and conferring with his generals and political subordinates. After a modest luncheon he read the Chinese newspapers thoroughly, and then conferred with more underlings. He dined at 7.30 p.m. and then continued working until midnight.

Before the loss of Manchuria, the Generalissimo was likely to take off for the front at any time in his aeroplane. When the fronts contracted, however, he conferred with his generals by telephone, and assumed strategic and tactical command of units down to regimental levels. This interference became so routine that field commanders refused to take the initiative in making emergency decisions. In a war of movement, such as the Communists fight, this dependence on orders from the top has had disastrous consequences.

FORMOSA

Last Refuge of The Kuomintang?

by Amos Landman

TAIWAN (also known as Formosa), the island off the south-eastern coast of China which was recovered from Japan after World War II, is becoming one of the refuges of the beleaguered Nationalist Government now in liquidation. When this article goes to press, it is not known yet whether General Chiang-Kai-shek will move to Formosa after his resignation.

The exodus to Formosa—whose name is derived from the Portuguese word for beautiful—is already on. Some government departments are being secretly established there, including elements of the Navy and Air Force. Several Kuomintang newspapers in Shanghai and Nanking are planning to set up operations there, and the airfield at Taipeh, the capital, is being enlarged. Taipeh's population is reported to be increasing by 5,000 a day because of the influx from the mainland. Among the recent arrivals are various members of the Shanghai city government, the Kuomintang and the Legislative Yuan, together with the family of General Ho Ying-chin, Minister of National Defence.

As a sanctuary for the Government, Formosa, which enjoys the distinction of being the first victim (in 1895) of modern-day Japanese aggression, has both advantages and disadvantages. It is immensely rich, with great agricultural resources, such as sugar, which afford employment to about half the population. Its earth is laden with gold, silver, coal, copper and other minerals. Its forests would help meet world-wide timber and newsprint shortages. On the other hand, the Formosans hate the Nationalists. Because of Nationalist stripping of the island, and the use of the island's resources for the benefit of the mainland instead of at home, they revolted on February 28th, 1947.

Some Americans think Formosa is a good place for the investment of aid funds in support of the Nanking Government. They regard it as of great strategic importance because it could form a link in the chain of American bases off the Asia coast. This is a controversial point. Some military observers say that Formosan air bases offer no targets that are not within reach of the present bases in Japan, Okinawa or the Philippines. The island has protected harbours, which is not the case in Okinawa. Last summer the U.S. Economic Administration earmarked \$5,000,000 in reconstruction and replacement funds for the rehabilitation of the Formosan sugar industry, railroads, power plant and other installations. Should Washington have decided to assist what remains of the Nationalist Government, the island would have been a logical place for doing it.

To make a self-sustaining, profitable export out of sugar, the island's most important product, will not be

simple. From an all-time record of 1,300,000 metric tons in 1939, production slumped almost to vanishing point at the war's end and rose to only 263,601 tons in 1947. This figure is reported to have been doubled in 1948. According to the Taiwan Sugar Co., a government corporation, \$22,435,000 is needed for sugar mills, irrigation, railroad repairs, fertiliser and other items to restore the war-ravaged industry. The only source of such a sum is the United States, but neither the company nor E.C.A. officials are certain that such an investment would ensure a successful cultivation of sugar.

Formosa is 244 by 94 miles large, and oval shaped. Most of the people are Chinese, but in the mountains on the eastern side live headhunters of Malayan origin. In this connection, a pre-war travel book observed that the island "offers the blasé traveller an unusual thrill—that of hobnobbing with savage headhunters who secretly covet the visitor's head but are prevented by Japanese law and watchfulness from taking it unless the traveller is willing!" And, the book went on, "slowly but surely the intrepid and determined Japanese are reaching out to these sequestered places and are bringing these peoples into the pale of civilisation."

Neither aborigines nor Chinese thought highly of the civilising influence of Nippon. During the first 20 years of Japanese occupation there were 20 uprisings, and it was not until 1909 that the western half of the island, which is arable, could be tilled without the protection of armed guards. To deal with the headhunters, the Japanese fenced them in with electrified barbed wire, but the aborigines are said to have vaulted over this barrier when they felt like it.

Among other unpleasantnesses in Formosa are the earthquakes, of which the Japanese recorded 9,248 from 1908 to 1936. That is an average of almost one a day, but most of them are not severe. In one year there were 900. Formosa is in the typhoon belt, and is visited every year by 100-mile-an-hour gales. This affects its usefulness as an air or naval base. It also has malarial mosquitoes, dengue fever, filariasis and other tropical maladies, and 13 varieties of poisonous snakes.

Despite all its difficulties and problems, Formosa could be made into a fairly satisfactory refuge for the Nanking Government except that it would be cut off from the mainland—or because of it. In addition to the resources noted, the island has oil, tobacco, tea, offshore fisheries and a virtual world monopoly of camphor. It also has one of the largest aluminium reduction plants in the Far East. Formosa is self-sufficient in rice, thus being one of the few provinces in all China able to feed itself.

THE AUSTRALIAN TRUSTEESHIP IN NEW GUINEA

by K. D. Gott

AUSTRALIA, herself a nation welded out of six former colonies of Great Britain, has recently become acutely conscious of her own colonial responsibilities towards one and a quarter million primitive Melanesians living in New Guinea and its surrounding islands. Since 1884 she has had possession of the Territory of Papua in the south-eastern corner of the island and in 1920 she was granted a League of Nations "C" Class Mandate over the remaining section of the island—formerly German New Guinea.

Under a recent United Nations agreement the mandated territory has become a trusteeship and the ratifying bill passed subsequently by the Australian Parliament established a joint administration for both Papua and New Guinea. However, the Prime Minister (Mr. J. B. Chifley), possibly with the U.N. dispute over South Africa's attitude to her former mandated territories in mind, was at pains to point out that the joint administration did not imply annexation.

As a nation of a mere seven and a half million people occupying an island continent of almost three million square miles, Australia's attitude to the islands at her north has always been dominated by fear of invasion from that quarter. It was these fears that led her to annex Papua in 1875 in the face of fierce opposition from the British Government of the day. In 1884, a German naval vessel sped to New Guinea and annexed its north-eastern section and the surrounding islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. After the first world war, Australia obtained German New Guinea as a mandated territory.

Between the two world wars, New Guinea and Papua, despite the fact that they were inhabited by similar native peoples, were governed as separate entities, each with its own laws, administrator and officials. This duplication of administration, health, medical and educational systems led to a wasteful use of the limited revenue of the two territories. Successive Australian Governments considered it contrary to the Mandate to amalgamate the two areas under a common administration. Yet the boundary line was a purely artificial one, often cutting across native villages and gardens.

The terms of the Mandate emphasised that "the well-being of the native peoples formed a sacred trust of civilisation." But beyond protecting the natives from the

more vicious abuses of colonialism—arms, drugs, liquor, appropriation of native lands and physical ill-treatment—little was done to develop either Papua or New Guinea for its inhabitants. Development was the prerogative of the Europeans engaged in gold-mining and growing copra, rubber, coffee and other products. A familiar colonial pattern was apparent—European planters exploiting under-paid native labour in a spirit of "get in, get rich and get out."

The vast majority of employed natives in both territories worked under the indenture system. They signed, under government supervision, contracts to work for three years at wages ranging from six to ten shillings a month. In addition they were provided with housing and a regimen of food and clothing, details of which were supervised by the administration. Natives absenting themselves or neglecting their work were liable to imprisonment. At the end of the three years the labourer was entitled to free repatriation to his village. By 1939 almost 25 per cent. of the able-bodied males were working under indentures. A tax of ten shillings a year imposed on all able-bodied males other than indentured labourers ensured the mines and plantations of an ample labour supply; few natives were in a position to raise the amount by cash crops and often a proportion of villagers would sign indentures in order to pay the tax for the rest of their community.

The entry of Japan into the war soon turned New Guinea into a battlefield. It was the scene of Australian military operations—the closest and most important one in the eyes of the Australian public—and tens of thousands of Australian servicemen came to know it and its peoples intimately. The Australian and American campaigns to drive the Japanese from the island would have been longer and infinitely more costly in lives and equipment but for the loyalty and active-co-operation of the native population. They served as scouts, bearers and labourers as well as fighting at the side of Australian and American troops.

Army specialists conducted surveys into the island's resources, agriculture, medical problems and topography. More was learned of New Guinea and its peoples in three years than in the preceding thirty and the foundation was laid for a comprehensive improvement in the lives of the Melanesian inhabitants. Their needs for reconstruction were great. The retreating Japanese had left a trail of destruction. Native villages had been razed, their livestock

slaughtered and their gardens ruined. In addition most of the assets of the white inhabitants—mining equipment, plantations and homes—had been destroyed.

In 1945 a provisional civil administration was set up covering both Papua and New Guinea. The Mandate was to become a Trusteeship and it was soon evident that the change was to be more than one of name. The new Australian Minister for External Territories was Mr. E. J. Ward, a political firebrand and the most radical member of the present Australian Government. On September 25th, 1945, he told Parliament that the "natives will be given better conditions and eventually will be given the opportunity to share in their own Government." Important changes were introduced. As the first step in a five year plan to abolish the indenture system, it was announced that all contracts of employment between natives and Europeans would be terminated the following month. Natives would then have the option of entering new contracts for terms of one year, engaging as non-indentured labourers or returning home to their villages at their employers' expense. Other regulations prohibited the employment of natives under sixteen years old and limited the use of female labour.

The pre-war indenture system, involving as it did so many of the young villagers in prolonged periods of absence from their families had a deleterious effect both on population and tribal life. It weakened the natural economy of the villages by drawing away their most virile labour, disrupted marital relations and produced homosexuality among the labourers congregated for years at a time in barracks on plantations and mines. The limitation of the period of the native's absence from his village to a maximum of a year was a far-sighted and scientific measure for the preservation of the race. But to its critics it represented only a needless and wilful reduction in the available labour pool. Other regulations laid down a more balanced dietary scale for native workers and raised their wages from ten to fifteen shillings a month; hours were reduced from 55 to 44 per week.

The reaction of the European residents was immediate, bitter and vocal. A meeting of Papuan planters shortly after the announcement of the new regulations declared that they and their plantations were in danger of ruin and appealed direct to the British Prime Minister for protection against the Australian Government. Meanwhile, in Sydney, evacuees from New Guinea and Papua, fretting against Mr. Ward's delay in granting them permission to return to their war-ravaged properties had formed the Pacific Territories Association and were lobbying against the Provisional Administration Bill. They demanded the re-establishment of the civil administration on exactly the same basis as in 1939. Getting no satisfaction from the Minister they cabled a protest to the then Governor-General of Australia, H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester. History records neither Mr. Atlee's reply, nor the Duke's.

A fresh outburst greeted the announcement by the Australian External Territories Department in September, 1946, that natives would get first preference in the

allocation of new plantations. Prior to the war the white population of Papua had been 1,800 and of New Guinea, 4,100. Not all of these returned after the war and it was apparent that those wishing to do so would get little encouragement from the Australian Government. No non-native land settlement was to be permitted until normal conditions returned. Even then the number of non-native plantations would be strictly limited. "The basis of the future economy will be native and European industry with the limit of non-native expansion determined by the welfare of the natives generally." Natives were to be encouraged to grow rubber, copra, cocoa and coffee on their own account, while others were to be trained in various skilled trades.

Training courses in agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and tropical hygiene were started by the administration. A small rice mill was set up to encourage native rice production and to provide a means whereby the natives could secure a cash market for their crops. Coffee was also purchased by the administration. Recently Mr. Ward announced that he hoped that eventually New Guinea would supply all of Australia's tea requirements. Another member of the Government, Mr. Lemmon (Minister for Works and Housing) has spoken of hydro-electric power and paper-pulp production as among the island's future industries.

The post-war reforms survived the opposition of the European residents who wished to put the clock back. But at the United Nations Trusteeship Commission they met criticism of a different kind. Several powers considered that they did not go far enough, and it was ironical to see the Australian delegates defending their policy with arguments akin to those used against it by the embittered planters.

The Trusteeship Agreement has now been ratified by the Australian Parliament. Included in the Act was a provision for the establishment of a School of Pacific Administration at Canberra. This exists primarily to train officers for the New Guinea civil service, who are given a combination of academic study and practical field experience before starting their jobs. The Principal (Col. John Kerr) considers that the European residents must adjust themselves to the fact that the welfare of the natives comes first. In an article published last year he said he envisaged Australia becoming the intellectual centre for Pacific studies. The activities of the School are not limited to the training of New Guinea officers, but will include the training of experts in various fields pertaining to the Pacific, the publication of books and the creation of an extensive library on South-West Pacific and colonial affairs.

The School has barely started on these more ambitious projects, but its formation is significant as an indication of Australia's growing awareness of her place in the Pacific. In the past, her universities have almost entirely neglected Asia and the Pacific and her whole outlook, both cultural and political, has been turned toward Britain and Europe. But the new generation is conscious of her place in the Pacific and her proximity to Asia.

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Royal Society of Arts Lecture

"The Development and Goal of Western Medicine in the Indian Sub-continent" was the subject of a lecture delivered by Lt-Gen. Sir Bennet Hance, Medical Officer of the Commonwealth Relations Office, to the Royal Society of Arts on January 13th. In it he gave a detailed account of the origins of medical care and social hygiene from the days of the early Empire traders with India, up to the present time. At the time of the formation of the new Dominions, there were in existence 19 medical schools, 19 medical colleges and some 50,000 registered medical practitioners and the medical profession included men and women of the highest capabilities and attainments in medical science. The ultimate aim of western medicine in India could be summed up as a "reasonably comprehensive health cover for the whole of the population of the sub-continent" which implies preventive and curative measures for many diseases, maternity and child welfare services and higher standards of personal and public health. As Sir Bennet pointed out, no scheme of industrial expansion can be fully productive while the health of the operatives is sapped by preventive disease.

Indian Dances

A programme of Indian music and dances, performed by Indian students in London, was given on January 18th to a large audience. The dances, arranged by Neel Kamal (Miss Kamala Jespal) who herself performed some especially graceful solo numbers, included folk dances in colourful costumes from several parts of India. The musical items, in particular a duet for sarode and sitar, were well appreciated even by those with little or no experience of Indian music.

Indian Artist

An exhibition of sculpture and painting by Chinotomoni Kar was opened on January 22nd in the artist's own

studio under the auspices of the Royal India and Pakistan Society. Mr. Kar's bright, colourful pictures give the impression of modernised Rajput painting. His sculptures are of a strong, original line which has already brought them the widespread recognition they deserve.

China's Handicraft Movement

Passing through London on his way back to China from an extensive tour of the U.S. and Canada, was Mr. Djang Yuan-shan of the International Relief Committee of China. Mr. Djang, founder and president of the Chinese Handicraft Association in Shanghai, toured the West in order to find markets for the products of his organisation. Conscious of the need for the revival of handicrafts in China, Mr. Djang is successfully trying to develop a new industry which is of both cultural and social significance. "The Chinese have been recognised as masters in wood-carving, lacquer work, jade carving, silk embroidery, the production of exquisite jewellery, pewter ware and brass and bronze products," he explained. He does not see any reason why there should not be a ready market for such commodities in the West. He wants to export Chinese skill and ingenuity rather than his country's raw materials or human labour. A prominent social worker, Mr. Djang wants to utilise the handicrafts of the Chinese farmers for their own benefit and to improve their living conditions. He has, therefore, built up a powerful co-operative movement where, after carefully studied designs and according to the inclinations of the individual home producers, their output can be marketed for their own benefit.

Indian Students

To mark the beginning of the term, India's High Commissioner in London, Mr. Krishna Menon, entertained nearly 1,000 students at India House. Speaking about the relations between his office and the 2,300 Indian students in this country, the High Commissioner said that his responsibility did not include any form of supervision. He was not concerned with what students were thinking as long as they were thinking. There was no such thing as "dangerous thoughts." One quarter of all Indian students in Britain were here on five-

year scholarships granted by the Indian Government, mainly for technical studies. An ever-increasing number of places was being secured in British educational institutions, but it was difficult to find living accommodation for the students, whom he did not like to see housed in hostels where they lacked the necessary contact with the British community.

Jade Carving

Addressing members of the China Society at the China Institute on January 13th, Mr. S. Howard Hansford outlined the process of jade carving in all its stages from the mining of the raw material to the polishing of the finished product. Mr. Hansford, who is one of the greatest experts on jade, spoke about the long history of the craft in which the Chinese had achieved a unique superiority and mentioned the part jade had played in rituals and ceremonies in China for 3,000 years. Jade carving had reached its maturity in the 3rd or 4th century B.C., and there has been little change in the technique since then. Before the war, Peking had been the centre of the jade trade, stimulated by the big U.S. demand for jade objects, but also Shanghai and Suchow had been producers. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides and a short film.

India and Pakistan Survey

Members of the East India Association, at a packed meeting at the Overseas League on January 11th, heard Sir Percival J. Griffiths give his impressions of his recent visit to India and Pakistan. The speaker, dealing first with the political aspect in the two Dominions, said that Pakistan lived under the apprehension of possible Indian aggression. This, however, was unfounded, and it was the duty of India to do everything to dispel this nervousness while Pakistan would have to muzzle irresponsible press opinion. India, on her part, was also unduly sensitive to the opinion of foreign countries. The feeling was growing there that isolation was impossible in the modern world, and if Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel would be able to settle the question of India's stay in the Commonwealth in the secrecy of their

(continued at foot of next page)

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Changed Labour Conditions in Singapore

The day of "coolie" labour is over for ever, states the latest Labour Report of Singapore. Never again will it be possible for aerodromes to be built with coolies using hoes and baskets. Now employers will have to use bulldozers and other mechanical equipment driven by a few highly skilled and well-paid operatives. Wage rates in Singapore for the labourer now compare favourably with British rates. It is arguable, the report states, whether, despite the high price of rice, the Singapore labourer is not paid even better than his British counterpart. Humanitarians have greeted with enthusiasm the abolition of the *jinrickshaw*. Alternative transport has been supplied by licensing 8,000 trishaws (rickshaws pulled by a cyclist instead of a running man). It is open to argument, however, whether pedalling the trishaw causes less physical strain than rickshaw pulling.

First Kasturbai Trust Unit

Mysore State is to be the seat of the first model self-supporting rural welfare units under the Kasturbai Memorial Trust. It will have a village women social workers' school, maternity hospital, dairy and cottage industries. The Trust's executive committee has also sanctioned more than Rs.1,000,000 towards starting 300 centres of village service, midwifery training institutes and maternity hospitals. Provincial training centres have so far trained 349 women social workers. More than 350 are at present under training. The Trust (in memory of Kasturbai, wife of Mahatma Gandhi) has as its object the raising of the status of Indian women. A trained village worker's duties include the teaching of general knowledge, hygiene, history and culture.

Why Hirohito Was Spared Trial

Commenting on a Tokyo report that Emperor Hirohito of Japan had been exempted from trial as a war criminal, a U.S. State Department spokesman in Washington pointed out that this exemption was granted by international agreement. He explained that the Hirohito exemption was contained in the 11-nation Far Eastern Commission's policy decision of April 3rd, 1946, on the apprehension, trial and punishment of war criminals in the Far East. This was sent in a U.S. directive to General MacArthur for his

guidance in setting up the international military tribunal to try the accused war leaders in Tokyo. It contained the following provision: "The directive shall not be construed to authorise any action against the Emperor as a war criminal. You will take no action against the Emperor as a war criminal pending receipt of a special directive concerning his treatment." No specific directive on the treatment of the Emperor has since been issued, nor is there any existing guarantee that his immunity will remain permanent. The Potsdam ultimatum to Japan of July 26th, 1945, and the surrender terms to Japan of the following month, agreed on by the United States, Britain, China and the Soviet Union, provided for maintaining the form of the Emperor's sovereignty in Japan. The Hirohito exemption came into public notice when defence attorneys appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court last December on behalf of 25 Japanese military and political leaders who had been convicted as war criminals by the international military tribunal in Tokyo. The attorneys obtained permission to cite the Emperor's exemption in their appeal which was rejected by the Supreme Court on the grounds that the Japanese war lords had been properly tried by an international tribunal whereas the U.S. Supreme Court had no legal authority to intervene. Subsequently, seven of those convicted, including former Premier Hideki Tojo, were hanged on December 23rd.

Greater Dacca

The official plan for "Greater Dacca" as capital of Eastern Pakistan, is nearing completion. This includes about 550 acres of industrial area as distinct from the "commercial and business area" of which the greater part will comprise a workers' colony with all modern amenities. Construction work has commenced on the clerks' colony in Azimpura, on the outskirts of the present town where 1,000 houses are to be built in three-storied blocks, served with electricity and other facilities.

The commercial and business area will be located in Motijheel, two miles to the north of the present town, and will have a two-mile frontage of three-storied buildings, with shops on the ground floor, offices on the second floor and flats on the third floor. This area will cover about 75 acres. The plan envisages a model residential area in Greater Dacca with 550 houses, intersected by

chambers, there is no doubt that she would remain in it. While politically things were better than Sir Percival had expected twelve months ago, the economic conditions were not so good. Transport was thoroughly bad and administration slow. Though

prices were not altogether running away, inflation was not yet checked, which hampered the capturing of new markets. Pakistan, in this respect, was in a better position of the two Dominions. There was a complete lack of confidence among Indian busi-

nessmen about the future, as they were uncertain regarding the Government's nationalisation and labour policies and as they suffered under very heavy taxation. Pakistan especially, Sir Percival concluded, wanted to attract British capital.

playing fields, shopping centres and schools. Open spaces in the form of woodlands are also provided for, while the Embankment Road of Old Dacca, along the Buringanga, in the coolest part of the town, will be opened up into a public promenade.

Mao Tse-Tung's Peace Terms

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, announced his peace

conditions on January 14th in North Shensi. He stated that the Chinese Communist Army had ample strength and justification to complete the destruction of all the remnant military forces of the Kuomintang in the near future. Nevertheless, for the sake of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion, his party was willing to conduct peace negotiations with Nanking or "any Kuomintang regional government or military bloc" on the basis of the following terms:

"1. Punishment of war criminals; 2. Abrogation of the bogus 'Constitution'; 3. Abolition of reactionary Kuomintang organs and institutions; 4. The re-organisation of all reactionary armies in accordance with democratic principles; 5. Confiscation of Bureaucratic Capital; 6. Reform of the agrarian system; 7. Abrogation of treaties which betray the nation; 8. Convocation of a Political Consultative Conference without participation of reactionary elements, and establishment of a democratic, coalition government to take over all power from the reactionary Kuomintang Nanking Government and its lower organs of administration."

India's First Polio Centre

by Lucy Griscom Morgan (Bombay)

AMID the almost universal patient acceptance of human ills in India, there are now stirrings of new life and hope. One of the impressive symbols of that trend is a courageous Moslem woman here who set out almost single-handed to prod her nation into doing something effective for the treatment of infantile paralysis victims.

Eight years ago Mrs. Fathema Ismail was told by doctors that her two-year-old daughter was a hopeless polio invalid. But not being a believer either in blind resignation to fate or in the infallibility of doctors, she started a long uphill fight which has won a 95 per cent. cure for her daughter and has produced a rapidly growing institute for the care of many other polio victims. When Mrs. Ismail began her campaign, she discovered that in the whole of India there was not a single centre where there was any co-ordinated effort to treat polio cases.

By July, 1947, she had raised enough money to start a modest clinic in the consulting room of an interested doctor, but soon branched out into a temporarily vacant nursing home. Almost overnight this little enterprise was swamped with patients. As the applicants for treatment increased, the staff was expanded and the government of Bombay, taking note of this ambitious and devoted group of pioneers, offered the use of a building of their own—Military Hutment No. 20—on a year's lease for a nominal rental. Originally the hut had no drainage and plumbing, lacked adequate wiring and windows, and recently lost much of its roof in a hurricane. But the public of Bombay, frequently through gifts in kind rather than money, have taken care of these needs.

To-day Military Hutment No. 20 is the improvised, but busy home of the Society for the Rehabilitation of Disabled and Crippled Children. Already some of the clinic's first patients have been discharged as completely cured, and all have shown marked improvement. Inadequate though its facilities are to deal with even local needs, cases are now coming in from far parts of India. As a project thus far supported almost entirely by private contributions, the clinic is keeping a scrupulously complete honour roll of its donors. One so listed, is a Mr. Khedekar—"for helping out in a crisis and losing two night's sleep."

India's Advisory Board of Education Meets

A 12-point programme for social and basic education was announced by India's Education Minister, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education at Allahabad.

According to the programme, the village schools would be not only places of instruction for village children, but centres of community life in the village, providing opportunities for welfare work, sports and recreation for the entire village; films and magic lantern slides would be shown and recordings of talks relayed; schools would be provided with radio sets and arrangements would be made for broadcasting special programmes; popular dramas would be organised; arrangements would be made for giving simple instruction in some craft or industry suited to the locality; lectures would be arranged for instruction in simple laws of social hygiene, methods of agriculture, cottage industries and co-operative activities. Periodical exhibitions, fairs and excursions would be organised.

Emphasising the importance of adult education, the minister pointed out that a beginning had been made in the Province of Delhi with programmes of both basic and social education. The first set of 45 schools were opened in July and a second set of 50 during the latter half of November, 1948. Before the end of the financial year—1949-50—the whole of Delhi Province would be covered with such basic schools. He hoped that this year the Government would be able to introduce a programme of educational expansion in all its stages.

Referring to scientific education and overseas scholarships, the minister stated that till such time as arrangements in India for imparting instruction up to the highest standard were complete, the despatch of students abroad must not cease. The Government had drawn up a modified scheme



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of overseas scholarships, which would aim both at strengthening the teaching personnel in Indian Universities and Scientific and Technological Institutions and providing necessary staff for carrying through the industrial development of the country.

A resolution recommending that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in the junior basic stage was adopted by the Board. As regards secondary education, the Board recommended that the federal language should become a compulsory subject at the stage when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in universities, and that the teaching of the federal language should be started at the end of the junior basic stage. The Board also discussed the medium of instruction at the university stage, which recommended that the *status quo* should be maintained for five years, after which regional languages should gradually replace English as the medium of instruction in universities. It was decided to defer consideration of this question until after the University Commission, recently appointed by the Government of India, had made its recommendations on it, but advised that the change-over from English to the regional language should be very gradual, so as not to affect the efficiency of university education.

Japan's Population Increase

The increase in Japan's population is exceeding all previous calculations, reports John Murdoch from Tokyo. It was expected to pass the 80-million mark by the autumn of 1949, but exceeded this estimate already in August, 1948, when the population figure was 80,216,896 (it was 43,820,000 in 1900). The 1948 rate of increase, over 20 per 1,000 of population, far surpasses the previous record of 15.2 per 1,000 of 1941. Statistics show that the average annual birth rate in Japan since the end of the war has been round the two-and-a-half million mark, which seems to indicate that Japan is quickly moving towards a crisis owing to the rate at which her population is increasing in relation to her economic resources. The problem threatens to become so acute in the next generation or two that the question of Japan's expansion will probably dominate the international scene in the Far East. The country's death rate in 1947 was 15 per cent, a decrease of 2 per cent. compared with the level of pre-war years. The cause of the decrease is attributed to improved sanitary arrangements, encouraged by S.C.A.P. The *Nippon Times* has commented that, while making due allowance for efforts by the Government to modify the growth of population in the next few years, the present rapid increase is "still sufficiently troublesome to warrant much more serious thought than is generally given to the problem."

Karachi To Prohibit Begging

A plan to prohibit begging in the city is under the consideration of the Karachi Administration. Disabled beggars will be moved into an institute where they will be given vocational training. The police will then remove all able-bodied beggars from the city and begging will be made an offence within the limits of Karachi.



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BOOKS ON THE

THE JEWEL IN THE LOTUS by John Blofeld (Sidgwick & Jackson for The Buddhist Society, London, 15s.).

Mr. Blofeld, who has spent many years in China and acquired an intimate knowledge of the country and its people, gives here an interesting picture of Buddhism in China today. He has made many contacts with the leaders of Buddhist thought which enables him to assess the religious and philosophic trends there at the present time. He points out that even if Buddhism can no longer be considered a great religious force in China now, its influence is still felt by millions, and to understand and appreciate Chinese civilisation, some knowledge of Buddhism, Confucian and Taoist philosophy is necessary. Although a considerable amount has been written in western languages on Buddhism, it has mostly dealt with the Hinayana School of Buddhism, which is prevalent in S.E. Asia, and little with Mahayana Buddhism, which dominates in China as well as in Japan, Tibet and Mongolia. The first section of *THE JEWEL IN THE LOTUS* includes descriptions of various monasteries, pilgrimages to sacred places and anecdotes to illustrate the Chinese attitude to such things as life after death, supernatural events and Buddhism itself. The second section consists of a classification of the many sects into which Mahayana Buddhism in China has been divided. The Meditation or Zen and Esoteric Sects are discussed with some detail, and a whole chapter is devoted to the Chinese Buddhist Pantheon, describing the images of the many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which are to be found in temples and monasteries throughout China. Although the purpose of the book is but to serve as an introduction to Buddhism in China, it nevertheless contrives to simplify a wealth of otherwise difficult doctrine and philosophy. Mr. Blofeld has summed up the position of Buddhism in present-day China both clearly and honestly and concludes that in spite of the profound influence of Buddhism on Chinese life, it is probable that it will perish as an intellectual force with the present generation.

STORIES OF CHINA AT WAR edited by Chi-Chen Wang (Oxford University Press, 10s. 6d.).

STORIES OF CHINA AT WAR is an unpretentious collection of short stories by modern Chinese writers dealing with various aspects of life in war-time China—spread over the period between 1937 and 1942. Within its limits, many varied types have been portrayed, ranging from the peasant and guerilla to the starving and war-weary intellectual. Several stories, in particular those of Lao She, show skill in describing the strain and pettiness of everyday life—a strain which is felt by the writers themselves, and which contrasts so sadly with the early days of the war when there was an air of hope and purpose in the land. Towards the end of the war this had given way to a feeling of inertia and despair, mainly brought about by jealousy and suspicion among the major political parties. This, added to physical hardships, made the conscientious writer's lot a hard one. Although some stories bear an unmistakable tractarian stamp and as such have obviously

FAR EAST

a message to convey, there are slight touches of humour and caricature which lessen the moralising tone. Differences of style and method between the various authors cannot be fairly assessed as translation tends to obliterate sharp outlines, reducing each contribution to a common level.

COMMONWEALTH HANDBOOK (*Royal Empire Society*, 1s. 6d.).

This is a brief and informative guide to the many departments, organisations and societies in the U.K. which are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the British Empire. It is intended to assist all those whose work lies in the sphere of Commonwealth affairs by enumerating the special facilities provided for information and guidance on the Empire. Note is also made throughout of special publicity services, such as lectures or films which are available. This booklet is a useful supplement to the pamphlet *BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES* issued recently by the Colonial Office.

CORONA the Journal of H.M. Colonial Service (*H.M. Stationery Office*, 1s., 14s. per annum).

This new venture constitutes the "house-organ" of the Colonial Service. Its main purpose is the pooling of knowledge and experience gained by its officers, by means of articles and correspondence. The first number attains a high standard throughout and is confined to factual rather than controversial commentary. The inclusion of several good photographs further enlivens the appearance of the magazine.

THE GOAL OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA by Sir Reginald Coupland (*Longman's, Green*, 1s.).

The author outlines in brief in this well-documented pamphlet Britain's aims in India throughout her period of dominance. His argument that British rule was constantly striving to implant the seeds of self-government in a continent torn between racial and religious differences could well be answered—and documented—by the policy of "divide and rule." That policy was officially endorsed by Lord Elphinstone in 1858 and led to the favouring of first the Hindus and then the Moslems when Congress nationalist opposition developed more strongly. Much can be said, and will be said about the benefits or otherwise, resulting from British rule in India. It is heartening to realise that throughout our sojourn there, a liberal-minded section of public opinion in this country had striven to make Britain conscious of her duties and responsibilities.

M. E. KERSLAKE.

NEAR NORTH edited by Robert J. Gilmore and Denis Warner (*Angus and Robertson, Sydney*, 16s.).

Australia's greatest problem is her "Near North"—what is known as "Far East" to the rest of the world—and the presence, just outside her gates, of a thousand million coloured people. Thirteen Australian journalists, almost all of whom have served as war correspondents in the Pacific or South-East Asia, have pooled their experiences of these regions, their first and second thoughts on historical and current events, to provide a

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TAYLOR'S FOREIGN PRESS
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background of knowledge for the average reader in Australia who, as a rule, has been too busy with his own private affairs, just as the western reader has been too busy with the complications of his own closer world, to acquire a deep understanding of the East. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear to the Australian citizen that "a brown avalanche might one day fall on Australia." The book defines the attitude of mind and the protective policies which Australians have adopted to meet this menace; no real remedy is suggested, that is not the purpose of the book which serves to inform. Even the alteration of the Immigration Restriction Act which is advocated, namely the establishment of a quota system for non-European immigrants, appears to be meant as a sop to sensibilities and not as a change in policy. A positive external policy towards the peoples of the Near North is concisely stated by Dr. Evatt in his preface to the book: "Our role lies, firstly, in an earnest endeavour to understand the problems and needs of each of our neighbours; secondly, in discussing the best ways of reciprocal help—such as trade, the exchange of scientists, students, teachers, writers and artists and the provision of technical assistance where needed; and thirdly, the carrying out of practical measures for such mutual assistance." Such a policy will certainly help to pacify and stabilise relations between Australia and her neighbours, but it cannot solve the problem of the southward drive of land-hungry masses.

The authors give a rather breathless account of historical developments, and of events since the Japanese invasion of the countries of the East. Their personal contacts with the leading political figures like Soetan Sjahrir, Ho chi Minh, or Chiang Kai-shek, and the intimate knowledge of their characters, their mode of life, their

whole life stories, give the reader a more vivid and vital picture of the political struggles than a mere recital of facts would have done. The main facts, the main features, are the same for practically every country of the Near North: the colonial era has been supplanted by the strong upsurge of nationalism, a Japanese-sponsored nationalism—whether it be Indonesia, where Sjahrir demands "the right to risk making a mess of our own affairs," and where "the main argument for independence to-day is the right to determine and defend their destiny without interference from numerically inferior races," or Indo-China, whose people "like all Orientals, prefer corrupt or ruthless government by other Orientals to benevolent, efficient government by Europeans." There has been only one exception, and "alone among white men in South-East Asia, Malaya's British have been welcomed back to their despoiled plantations, mines, go-downs and bungalows with native smiles and handshakes."

And what of the future? Will China become the Pan-Asian Leader? China, which for long has been called "The Centre of Everything" by her devoted sons? The Chinese have penetrated everywhere deeply into the economic structure of the eastern nations, and have rapidly dominated the commercial and artisan life of Siam, Java, Malaya and other countries. The present development in China portends an even higher pressure on the countries of South-East Asia. Australia, no doubt, will throw her weight increasingly into the scale of friendship with those countries. To her a friendly Indonesia and Malaysia, a friendly and prosperous and politically independent Burma, together with the sane, cheerful and well-balanced Siamese, constitute an "important abutment of her northern ramparts."

ISLE BUNBURY.

ART FOR THE MAN IN THE STREET

18th Century Japanese Prints

by Winifred Holmes

IN the West designing for mass-production has brought with it a lowering of general standards of artistic taste. It has become the accepted belief that popular art must appeal to the middle and lowest aesthetic susceptibilities among the people for whom it is produced; therefore a lowering of standards is inevitable.

The art of the Japanese print-designer, or artist as he should be called, of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, however, gives the direct lie to this supposition, and is proved by the Exhibitions of Japanese prints, which were held in London this winter at the British Museum and by the Arts Council. This was no court art, no art for an exclusive aristocracy or intellectual minority, but one which came into being to satisfy the tastes and needs of a growing bourgeoisie in the big cities of Yedo (Tokio) and Osaka. It is an art which, while based on the highest

traditions of design, colour, craftsmanship, yet set aside the hampering classical High-Japanese themes and looked instead to popular romances, plays and the manners and customs of the middle-class for its inspiration.

Impressions—momentary impressions—of actors, of beauties, of ordinary bourgeois Japanese life, of things and people more as they were than as they were considered to be by artificial standards . . . these were the basis of the popular art which grew up under the Takagawa Shogunate and which gave the people mass-produced prints of the highest artistic merit to satisfy their craving for romance, colour and visual beauty. Perhaps the secret lay in the high level of artistic appreciation among the people for whom the prints were designed: the market set the standard. If Western popular taste were higher, artists would probably supply a higher level of design for mass-

production. The people get what they deserve—what, in fact, they will buy.

The prints were based on a technique of wood-cutting, well known in Japan long before the 17th century when this new popular art first came into being. Copied from China, it was used to illustrate Buddhist *sutras* and stories and single woodcut sheets were sold to pilgrims at Buddhist shrines. In Europe too the woodcut was used to illustrate devotional themes. Later its scope was broadened and secularised and it was used to illustrate chap-books and political broadsides. In Japan its new uses were to illustrate popular books, fashions, the actor's art and current ideas of manners and behaviour.

The Japanese artist was not his own cutter and printer. Those were specialists whom he could trust to interpret his sketch perfectly. The sketch would be pasted on to the cherry-wood block, then cut with a knife and inked then with a brush. No press was used, the impression being rubbed off by hand. Absorbent paper and hand-mixed inks gave a deeper richness to the blacks. Colouring was done afterwards by hand, with red lead and gold dust. Later lacquer was used. Then came the development of the two-colour block in the favourite colour-combination of pink and green, sometimes with yellow and blue as a variant. When at last five-colour blocks were developed the whole art was changed from an extreme simplicity which depended chiefly on pattern, to a rich texture of gradations of colour and effects of atmosphere and depth unknown before.

The first fully-developed colour prints, *nishkiye*, were prepared for the New Year of 1765, the patrons being the connoisseurs of the literary and theatrical clubs of Yedo. They were illustrations of poems and classical subjects, treated in a modern way, from contemporary life and not from a remote ideal that had become stale and lifeless with time. The charming young girls depicted in the familiar situations were free from the exaggerations and artificialities of the classical convention.

This break from tradition, made by the pioneer artist, Moronobu, about 1670, reflected the growing vitality of the city middle-classes, who had become prosperous and powerful with the break-up of a narrow feudalism. Moronobu's work must have had a most dramatic effect on his generation in a country as bound to tradition by sentiment and mandate as Japan, and no doubt there were many dissentient voices, many grey-beards and pedants, who denounced this break into a new popular art as a sign of the decadence of the age. But the people who bought the prints designed by Moronobu felt differently.

This break with tradition also coincided with the growth of the new popular Kabuki theatre, simple melodrama based on well-known novelettish stories of love and jealousy and revenge, very different from the classical *No* drama of the past. It was inevitable therefore that theatrical designs would become popular for prints. The actors had their fans among the shop-keepers and artisans who thronged the theatre and here was a new opportunity for the artist in making portraits of favourite actors in their best roles. As in the Elizabethan theatre, the actors

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were always men. These portraits, some of the best of the 18th century prints, are never mawkish or stilted, but full of life and attractive to us to-day.

Another profitable subject for the print-designer or artist was the fashion-plate. Who would say after seeing the exquisite work of Koriūsai that the fashion-plate cannot also be a work of art? This artist gave country and provincial-town girls the opportunity of seeing for themselves the latest fashions of the Yoshiwara, the most elegant of the capital's Houses of Entertainment. One can imagine how eagerly the daughters of a small-town merchant or rich country landowner awaited the arrival of a new edition of Koriūsai's fashion prints!

Although this was a popular bourgeois art—this art of the woodcut print—the elegance and artistic sensibility of artist and public alike is to be seen in nearly every example as evidence of widespread good taste. Some artists' work is weaker and more formal in line and conception than that of the great masters—Harunobu, Kiyonaga, Utamaro, Toyokuni, Hokusai and Hiroshige—but none is vulgar, none "cheap," none panders to a lower taste. There is too, nothing warlike about the subjects chosen. Looking at them from this distance in time, from the post-war world of 1949, one sees a society mirrored in them of graceful ladies with long faces, delicate almond eyes and elaborate coiffures viewing maples, sheltering from the rain while watching small birds flying past, walking along the bank of a river holding a fan, being teased by monkeys who sit in a cherry-tree . . . one sees actors in the costume and make-up of their chief roles; later, one sees charming landscapes and atmospheric effects. This was a society, these prints seem to say to us, which appreciated the graces of living, the beauty of the countryside and of nature and the arts of acting and of dressing for effect.

The culmination of the school came with the artist Hokusai, 1760-1849, who has won world-fame. After him Hiroshige brought the school to an end with his delicate and poetic impressions of landscape, but his was an attenuated art compared with the vigour and splendour of Hokusai, and already showed signs of decadence.

The Exhibition of Hokusai at the British Museum, which marks the centenary of his death in May, 1849, is the "first opportunity for the European public to see his work in its full range for a generation." The Museum has recently had some important bequests of Hokusai's work and with a dozen drawings and paintings borrowed from private sources, the exhibition is representative of every period and type of his output.

Hokusai is a great artist in a world sense. He took the popular art of the secular print and brought to it a new breadth, strength and artistic genius of his own. From being an art of the elegant indoors or of graceful middle-class life, he went out into the countryside and painted what he saw, the trees, the flowers, the birds, the animals, the rice-fields, the rivers and waterfalls and bridges and boats, the mountains; but above all he painted the people, the ordinary working people of his day. Among his astonishing *tour de force*, the "46 Views of Fuji," are pictures of the mountain seen through a foreground of a busy timber-yard and saw-mill, another from

among coolies with led horses, several with peasants working in the rice-fields. He saw with new eyes the beauty and significance of everyday life and, while the roots of his technique were deep in his national tradition, with a little of Western perspective to add a new dimension to his work, he saw these things not through the idealised vision of a stereotyped convention but through those of a visual genius.

Engraver, book illustrator, writer of a vast notebook of ideas, the *Mangwa*; artist, he devoted his life entirely to his passion for visual creation, not caring whether it brought him material rewards or not. His spirit, his intense love for his country, shone through his work with a brilliant yet tenderly clear light. Towards the end of his life—he was painting with no appreciable loss of vigour in his eighties—he signed himself *Gwakyōjin* (mad about art). Hokusai's work, greeted enthusiastically by French art-lovers of the last century, is now part of the Western heritage of art and as Basil Gray says at the end of his introduction to the catalogue of his Exhibition: "We may find in the work of Hokusai a vision of the grandeur of ordinary man when seen against a cosmic background, triumphing over circumstances by mere courage or, better, a sense of the deeper rhythm of life."

But what is perhaps of even more interest to us to-day is the fact that his art was designed to be mass-produced, that the Japanese public for whom he worked appreciated this art and so disproved the modern Western notion that to appeal to popular taste it is necessary to pander to a lower standard of taste and sensibility.

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AMBASSADORS OF A WIDER COMMONWEALTH (II)

by Fredoon Kabraji

FOR a critical appreciation of their distinctive qualities Mulk Raj Anand and R. K. Narayan each deserves at least a chapter: the works of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru demand a volume to discuss their worth to our times.

Pre-eminently behind Anand's creative drive and afflatus pulsates the human personality. I could speak at some length, with some knowledge, of this epitomic human being. Many things in many places, whatever role Anand plays he is among the least inhibited and the most intelligent of his fellows. But as a novelist he is more than intelligent, less than intellectual. In his creative work he takes himself intensely seriously as the artist, first and last. That is his crowning virtue: and it is as novelist and short-story writer that he challenges the attention of the world.

Mulk Raj Anand did himself less than bare justice upon an occasion when he said to me: "If you have not seen for yourself the Communist slant in my novels, you have missed the bus!" I certainly had not seen the Communist slant in his novels and I certainly had not missed the bus—for this slant was wrongly called "Communist." It was no other than purely and wholly human. As the intellectual, Anand poses himself—he is too intelligent to do otherwise—before his audience, seen and unseen, as the social conscience of his times. As the artist he has a twinkle in his eye. And it is that twinkle that saves him from being a tractarian—that mere Leftist intellectual who uses the fiction form to grind his Leftist axes. And it is to this twinkle that Anand owes his astronomical success (three million sale) even in the tractarian U.S.S.R.!

A varied and considerable output denotes the range of Anand's contemporary awareness. In about a dozen years he has had more than a dozen books to his credit—a book on cookery, books for children, scripts for radio and film rub shoulders with learned theses, sophisticated book-reviews, short stories in both lyric and Rabelaisian vein, polemical pamphlets galore. These paint an impressionist portrait of the versatile and restless writer. It is not here that the measure of the significant and representative artist is to be found, but in the seven novels in which he has created for himself a *métier* as the inspired spokesman of the Untouchable,¹ the Coolie,² the peasant-soldier of Northern India,³ the plantation-coolie of Assam,⁴ the industrial worker of the Punjab.⁵ With long and steady gaze, the vision of a clear and creative thinker, he has carried through the great project of his trilogy, *The Village*, *Across The Black Waters*, *The Sword and the Sickle*. His other four novels form a separate design. Each of them is a feat in itself, but as one creative symposium, the feat is comparable with those of the greater novelists.

Anand's style is flexible: in his stories it can be admirably taut and economical, but in his novels, in patches, it becomes boisterous in its intention of translating the picaresque dialogue and metaphor of the Indian bazaar into English. Then he rings many changes and, broadly, he gets the effects he seeks.

R. K. Narayan had for nearly a decade been "watched" in England. His first two novels, *Swami and Friends* and *Bachelor of Arts* had delighted many a jaded British critic. There was a third novel, *The Dark Room* (Macmillan) which seems to have fallen on stony ground during the war, but *The English Teacher* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1945) established Narayan. Many critics tried variously to trace the secret of his great appeal to the British reader: one critic came nearest to this secret by quoting one of Narayan's phrases—"miscellaneous sounds in the bush"—and remarking that no small part of Narayan's appeal lay in his quaint, if generally correct use of English. Two or three eminent critics, professionally given to understatement, gravely spoke of Narayan as the Indian Tchekhov. Why does this Indian so intrigue the English fancy? I suggest that his trump is his charm. Here is an unspoilt Indian, and simple human being; Narayan is wholly and happily unwesternised. He gives us no re-hash of anything that has ever gone before. What he gives us is his own, himself translated through English that is grammatically and syntactically correct, if not according to the best usage. Further, he has no synthetic art—no technique acquired from a novel-writing instruction course. His writing flows out of a full mind and a warm heart, native intelligence, liveliness and character. We have flashes of coloured lights from the prism of his own personality: all the little conceits, the Indianisms in the turn of a phrase play bo-peep with the universal human accent. The story of *The English Teacher* is slight: the wife dies in the middle of the book and the little daughter and the widower live on with the most endearing of ghosts!

Letters From A Father (Kitabistan, Allahabad) made the modest beginning of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's authorship in jail. Not to mention his collected speeches and essays, three bulky volumes now stand as a memorial to his sixteen years spent in prisons. Philosophic historian and man of action divide and meet on every page of his books and every step and turn of his public career.

Nehru's achievement is especially impressive if we reflect that the wide range and detailed knowledge which pack his thousands of pages have been marshalled without access to books of reference. His monumental *Glimpses of World History* (Lindsay Drummond) is a Wellsian conception; his *Autobiography* (The Bodley Head) is an intimate commentary on the men, women and affairs that transformed a subject people into a nation; his *Discovery of India* (Meridian Books) takes into its span more history of India and of the world. The three books complete the great arch of his written contribution to the history of

- 1, 2 Titles of the first two novels (Lawrence & Wishart)
- 3 in the trilogy
- 4 Two Leaves and A Bud (Cape)
- 5 The Big Heart (Hutchinson)

more than our own times and set him above all other mere pundits.

No Indian Conrad has yet appeared, but Dhan Gopal Mukherji approaches him closely. Mastery of English apart, what rich discoveries are contained in the novels of Tagore, Ahmed Ali, Anand, Narayan, and in the

works of Nehru and Mukherji! Add to this treasure also Rajo Rao's short stories just issued, *The Cow and the Barricades* (Oxford University Press) E. M. Forster, Edward Thompson, L. H. Myers struck a new seam in their novels about India: the Indian authors we have seen have worked that seam and struck new ones.

A BRAHMIN DINNER

by Douglas Trim

A BRAHMIN friend in Calcutta invited me to dine. It must be, he said, a simple repast, because wartime scarcity would not permit of a truly worthy feast. Before the evening was done I was thankful—for the first time in six years—for such austerity!

To do me honour my friend's mother had agreed to cook the food herself. When a high-caste Hindu lady prepares food for a foreigner it is a compliment to be gracefully acknowledged. I did so, but not without misgiving, for I knew that my friends—although of high caste—were poor, and could not afford to give a dinner. Yet to refuse would give offence, for hospitality, to the Hindu, is not only a pleasure, but a duty. No sacrifice is too great to do honour to a friend. It is embarrassing to go to a good dinner knowing that your host may be impoverished for a month. And when the dinner proves to be a banquet then the mind becomes as troubled as the over-laden stomach!

My friend lived in Shyambazar, that portion of Calcutta into which Europe has never encroached. To find my way to his house alone would have been impossible. He led the way through crooked lanes, the ground thick with broken clay crocks. (An Indian never uses a clay crock twice for drinking purposes and, to guard against mistakes, dashes the contaminated vessel on the ground as soon as he has finished with it.)

High, plastered walls hemmed us in; small, heavily barred windows making each house look as severe as a prison; bars are needed to keep out the Indian "goonda" or thief, and even then he may reach through with a stick to lift clothes from the pegs on the walls. Ricketty, unpainted doors hung drunkenly from their hinges; quaint balconies clung to the sides of the houses as though fixed there with tin-tacks! And cows—cows everywhere. How they feed in the middle of a city is a mystery.

Every few yards there were "hole-in-the-wall" shops, where cigarettes sold singly more often than in packets. Ramshackle trucks and carts stood in the gutters and occasionally a shiny, black water buffalo lying down between the shafts. Cheap cotton "sarees" hung to dry outside every window, and in open doorways small, serious girls scoured the household brass.

At last we turned into a passage not three feet wide, skirted a house with walls and roof fallen in, and stood before the wide, unwieldy door of my friend's abode. We stepped inside removing our shoes, which are never worn indoors. And so to the guest chamber, a small room with whitewashed walls, a flowery motto proclaiming in English: "Welcome to this House," an enormous divan by the window and a white sheet on the floor.

Two Indian friends were there for the dinner party, and without delay we seated ourselves on the floor!

"You will find," said my host, "there is one great virtue in eating on the floor. You are able to eat much more!"

I tried to cross my legs in Indian fashion, but my European joints were inelastic. So I sat upon my ankles, and was soon stiff with cramp. My two friends opposite comfortably cradled their feet in their laps!

Finger bowls and water were brought, for fingers were to be both knives and forks for this repast, and the dinner began to arrive.

I was disconcerted to find that our host was not going to join us. As a good Hindu host it was his duty to stand throughout the meal and to attend to all our needs. Of all Hindu customs I like this the least, for the companionship and conversation of a meal are enjoyable as the meal itself, and I could not forget that my host, as is the Brahmin way, took only two meals a day, one in the early morning, the other in the evening. I felt sure he must be very hungry, and it seemed a refined kind of torture to be handing to us savory dishes and partaking of none himself.

Brass trays, sixteen inches across, were placed in front of us. On each was a mountain of rice; an incredible quantity of rice for one person, a snowy, steaming pile weighing all of three pounds! Around the edge of the tray were small heaps and balls—quite twenty of them—of grains and vegetables, fruits and spices, each one different.

The question was where to begin? Was there a sequence prescribed by etiquette in which these things should be eaten, as in the West we follow soup with fish, and fish with fowl?

My observant host explained. These were only the vegetables for the meal; they were not the main items and could be eaten as I pleased. The choicest morsels would be served separately. And as he spoke they began to arrive; a constant flow of little brass bowls containing fish fried and spiced and boiled; gigantic prawns; lobster claws; sauces; pulses; any number of fried vegetables, fried cucumber, fried banana, fried pumpkin, and small concoctions of batter the spicy contents of which felt like a fire in the mouth. Having a small appetite I began to feel anxious.

I settled to the task and I ate—how I ate!—for I feared my friend would think I scorned the Hindu fare. At first I enjoyed most that was set before me, for the Hindus are ingenious cooks, and make their rather uninspiring vegetables extremely tasty. As for the fish dishes, they were excellent, and I thoroughly approved of the "dal"—which is split peas or lentils boiled to a thick soup and spread as a sauce over everything. I advise all cooks to try it.

In spite of all my efforts my host was growing anxious.

"You do not care for our kind of food?" he enquired. He looked disappointed. I began to panic, for I was already far beyond the normal limits of my appetite. Yet the mountain of rice showed no more than a tiny crater, the outworks around the tray's edge were hardly breached—the little brass dishes were creeping out like suburban houses round a city, and the servant boy came running with yet more delicacies! I told my host I was having the meal of my life as I turned again to the hopeless task.

My friends opposite me had finished. Heavy and sleepy, I continued to force-feed myself. And then I was suddenly startled to hear the smaller of my two friends belching with great heartiness. I understood, but could not condone it. He should, I felt, have concealed his discomfort. But not at all: it became obvious that he was enjoying himself; his performance increased in volume. I felt ashamed for him, and in another moment might have said something to cover up his breach of good manners, when the other friend began with even greater gusto! It dawned upon me that here was a social custom; that my friends were showing their appreciation of the food and

demonstrating the richness of it! Vaguely I remembered having read of a similar Chinese custom. My Western inhibitions were too strong: I remained silent and, by Oriental standards, unappreciative.

The trays and dishes of my fellow diners were empty, mine not even half-cleared, but I could eat no more. With vast relief I saw the remains taken away, and I was at liberty to rise.

"Now," said my host, "you may like to rest. Here is the divan. You may sleep if you wish. It is, indeed, good to sleep when the stomach is full." I agreed, and began to lift myself from the floor. And I could not! I tried and sank back. I was—literally—overloaded! I made several attempts to rise, while my friends looked on in amazement. "My feet are cramped," I explained, but it was not my feet that were wrong. At last I staggered to the divan and I stretched out flat. The relief was immense.

My host's duty was done; he could depart to eat a meal himself. For an hour and a half he had stood, the personification of patience and hospitality, attentive to our needs.

We lay, we smoked, we hardly talked at all. Presently we had Indian music. It may have been very pleasing. I slept!

OLD INDIAN WEAPONS

by Roland Blackburn

WEAPONS which most men admire do not include atom bombs or machine guns, but those weapons that require physical effort and judgment when in use, and kill not in thousands, but singly. None of our modern weapons come into this category. We have to turn to India for the really interesting specimens.

Perhaps a too practical acquaintance with the claws of wild beasts led some men to copy their use. The best known instance of this is the Indian *bagh'nakh*, or tiger's claw. This consists of from two to five steel claws about two inches long, connected together and fitted with rings in which to insert the fingers. This contrivance is carried in the left hand for attack, leaving the right free for a dagger.

An ancient weapon still in use in the Punjab is the *chakra* or quoit. Its user wears a conical cap some two feet high, formed of plaited cane. Surrounding the cane, hoop fashion, are sometimes as many as nine quoits, from a foot to four inches in diameter, made of light thin steel and sharpened outwardly to a knife edge. When the wearer wishes to use them, he passes his forefinger through the uppermost to lift it off, gives it a rapid spin on the finger over his head, then launches it horizontally at his enemy's face. A practised *chakra*-wallah can gain a direct hit at eighty yards.

A weapon common to every part of India is the *katar*. This is broad, two-edged dagger, the hilt of which is formed something like an H, the hand grasping the cross-bar which is generally double, while the side-bars extend on each side of the wrist. Some *katars* are made with five blades, which unite into one, but, by squeezing together the cross-bars, diverge like the fingers of a hand when the

thrust has been given. Other specimens are made in sets of two, or even three, of diminishing sizes, the blades of the larger being hollow, and forming sheaths for the smaller. Some of the Southern Indian *katars*, known as "death-givers," are immense weapons nearly two feet long in the blade. The hilts are a mass of fantastic scroll work, the cobra with expanding hood figuring largely.

There is also the *bich'hwa*, or scorpion's sting, which is a doubly-curved dagger. The *khanjar* a larger form of the same thing, and the *peshkabz* or hunting-knife. But none of these elaborate weapons have about them the terribly business-like look of the Khyber knife *ch'hura*, with its ponderous single-edged, tapering blade and plain ivory hilt.

The sword-stick, or *gupti*, is of Indian origin. One form of it was used by chiefs and men of rank. The hilt of the sword, forming the handle of the stick, is crutch-shaped, and the owner, when lying on his divan, would have his arm resting upon this, so that he was never quite unarmed. It was called in Persian "*takiah-i-zafar*," or cushion of victory." Another form of steel sword, which certain Maharajahs still use, is made so flexible that it can be worn round the waist as a belt.

Then we have the famous Nepalese *kukri*, or heavy-curved knife with which the Gurkhas did such execution in Burma. But there is another Nepalese sword, the *kora*, the most strangely-shaped sword ever used, which, starting from the hilt about an inch and a half wide, when near the end turns at right angles and expands to six inches. In the hands of an expert, the *kora* can decapitate a bullock with one blow.

MARJUS SINGH'S SECRET

by R. H. Ferry

DON'T ask me what brought these two hillmen, Fayl Quadir and Marjus Singh, into the city of Kashmir, where placidity is jostled by speeding progress, where East nudges West in the twisting streets, and only the river runs at a pace commanded by Allah . . . after all, it is none of my business to pry into the affairs of two stalwart countrymen "up in town" for a few days! I doubt if a policeman would have given them a further glance than wholly respectable citizens like you or me—perhaps just a second glance, but no more!

The story is set in a quiet cul-de-sac before the Law Courts, it is a very hot afternoon, the flowers have lost their scent and much of their colour, the flag above the white façaded Raj building is asleep. White-washed stones fence in a patch of green grass before the closed double-doors—the Court is sitting within.

What has this stuffy official scene to do with Fayl Quadir and Marjus Singh, free men of the hills; how have I come by the details of this simple story? Again I ask you to curb your curiosity, for did it not kill the Western cat? And these our two friends are not men to be hesitant about "nine lives."

It is such a simple tale that it rolls easily like a date stone off my tongue, yet it leaves the tip of it tingling with a subtle Eastern flavour—a spice.

It is in the late afternoon that we see Fayl Quadir and Marjus Singh sitting on the other side of the road from the Courts, in the patchy shade of a palm tree. They squat close with their arms around their knees, and occasionally scratch their backs on the tree trunk. Their eyes appear shut, but they are not quite closed, they watch perhaps the door of the Court House, perhaps the lizard in the sand at their sandalled feet, or perhaps . . .

The Court doors are flung open wide and a white prisoner is hustled out and away under close police escort.

For five minutes or longer—what is time in the East but the rising and setting of the sun?—nothing happened to break the silence, then the flies rose on Marjus Singh's stomach as it began to give little jerks under his belted cotton robes—he was belly-laughing—silently!

"While there is war it is more pleasing to think of palm trees," remarked Fayl Quadir sociably, as he flicked away a fly which had settled on his nose.

"I think not of palms, my friend, but of the white man they have taken from the Court, and who, by the nose of my Uncle long since with Allah, they will assuredly hang—he was indeed a foolish one." Singh chuckled low and his stomach jerked automatically.

"You know of this white man?" asked Fayl Quadir, with a slight uplift of eyebrows.

"I heard them talk of him in the bazaar," answered Marjus Singh. "This white man had a lover, she was

young and as beautiful as a mountain orchid." His eyes lit up greedily. "She had a heart as loving as a gazelle, lips like passion fruit . . . thighs . . . so this foolish one killed his wife and went at once to the arms of his lover, where the police found him."

There was a long silence. The spotted lizard rolled back an eyelid to watch with one eye a red butterfly flap with lazy wings across the road. The heat only was animated.

"You think of war or of palm trees?" asked Fayl Quadir to break the monotony.

"Of neither, oh, curious one, but of Sarah, for I, too, have killed my wife—she was old and peppery." He passed a thin finger with a sleek flick over his throat. "I buried her before we started out beneath the 7th stone of the 7th hill where the eagles nest after the rains."

"I knew not of this." There was a tone of anxiety in Fayl Quadir's voice.

"It is only for Allah to know all," answered the imperturbable Singh.

The shadows lengthened.

At this moment a policeman strode into the cul-de-sac, Fayl Quadir's eyes look worried, almost fearful—he now shared knowledge of the crime—guilt was written there for all to see.

"Think always of palm trees even if there be war," fervently whispered Singh.

But the policeman gave then but one glance. As he strode near, the muezzin voice called the Faithful to prayer, and our friends turned with alacrity to the East, bowing their foreheads low to the ground—their eyes reverently closed.

When it was safe to rise there were beads of sweat on Fayl Quadir's brow.

"You are not afraid?" he asked.

"No. The police will not look for me. The foolish Englishman first found a lover then killed his wife—I have killed my wife and go now to find a lover . . . the white man's ways and those of the East are different."

A slight breeze escaped from the hills and rattled the palm leaves. The lizard inflated with cool air. A stray donkey crossed the road towards the patch of grass before the Court House.

"He crosses to eat now that the policeman has gone," said Fayl Quadir for the sake of sociability.

"Perhaps he goes only to contemplate where the grass is green," answered Marjus Singh.

"He walks quickly," remarked Fayl Quadir.

"He is an ass," retorted Marjus Singh.

SHIVARATHRI IN SOUTH INDIA

by N. V. Eswar

PURSUED by a furious leopard at dusk, a hunter climbed up a bael tree in the forest for safety. But the leopard did not leave the hunter alone and stationed itself at the foot of the tree. The hunter was frightened out of his wits. Nevertheless, he decided to hang on to his position, even if it meant sitting on top of the tree till day broke. It became completely dark and he knew that sleep might outweigh his power of vigilance and he might tumble down into the very jaws of the leopard. In order to keep himself awake he plucked one leaf after another from the branches within reach and dropped them on the ground one by one. Meanwhile, the leopard got tired of waiting for its prey and left the place. With the break of day the hunter came down from his perch and started for home. By this time the forest was astir. Many people passed and were intrigued by the sight of a heap of bael leaves at the foot of the tree. An examination revealed that there was a Shiva Linga—the stone image of Lord Shiva, the Destroyer—underneath the heap. The hunter was asked to offer some food since he had already completed part of the worship of Shiva by throwing His favourite flower, the bael leaf, on His image. The hunter could not think of any fit offering. So he shot down a bird and offered it to Lord Shiva, in all innocence and with every true feeling of devotion. Lord Shiva was so pleased with the innocent devotion of the hunter that He not only appeared before the hunter with His Consort, Parvathy, but took the hunter along with Him to Heaven.

The above is the legendary beginning of Shivarathri which has been observed by Shivaitees all over India for centuries. The belief is that if one sits up and worships Lord Shiva the whole of that particular night like the hunter did one can ascend to Heaven. Shivarathri literally means a night dedicated to Lord Shiva. This year the festival falls on the 28th February.

The entire day is given to complete fasting which is mostly observed by women. Though this fasting is almost

voluntary with those who have their husbands living, it is a compulsory practice enjoined on the widows. No one engages himself in the usual daily tasks. They take the day off and spend it in reading the religious books or reciting tales and legends that glorify Lord Shiva before a small assembly of chosen friends.

In the late afternoon small groups of girls and boys start going from one house to another begging for oil. They sing a standard refrain, composed in the dim past by no one in particular. All the oil thus collected is used to burn the wick lamps at night.

Towards dusk, those who have been fasting throughout the day perform their ablutions and go straight to the priest's house where they offer flowers and sweets to Lord Shiva. At night every one takes simple food, in keeping with the spirit of the fast. Since everyone has to sit up the whole of the night, many of the elders gather and listen to the recital of old tales and legends from the Puranas.

Usually the boys have their own way of keeping themselves awake. They improvise and stage a drama, based on the hearsay Puranic stories. So it is not unusual that a meaningless pattern of a number of dramas is being woven into a single piece. But the villagers are indulgent to a great degree. Girls also stage their own dramas. They are more orderly, but their fund of imagination soon peters out and the piece often comes to a dead stop before it strikes eleven, so they flock to the boys' show. This infuses new enthusiasm into the minds of the boys and they perform one disorderly drama after another, and thus help the villagers to keep awake till daybreak. One noteworthy feature is that the villagers trust these young people with costly dresses and ornaments required to make up the various characters.

One wonders how this usage came to be popular. In daily life the "Shivarathri" indicates that one spent a very disturbed and sleepless night.

THE DOMINANT SEX

by Brian Bond

IT is traditional that many of Japan's views of life are diametrically opposed to ours, but perhaps nothing is more symbolic of this difference than her treatment of women.

A Japanese wedding photograph depicts the solemn husband standing beside his seated wife, both arrayed in black robes, Japan's colour for a joyous occasion. But then marriage is a solemn affair in the life of a Japanese woman, for one of the feudal precepts on which she has been nurtured is, "To a woman, her husband is heaven. Under no circumstances must she disobey him lest she

incur heavenly displeasure." As the daughter of revered parents, she has no choice of her wedding partner, and "obeys" from that time onwards. Most marriages are strictly utilitarian and are not for partnership or for camaraderie.

As a wife, the Japanese woman will walk decorously a few paces behind her husband, as no hint of equality must be permitted. She may kiss him only in strictest privacy, as a kiss in public is considered so sensually suggestive as to be obscene. Her individual rights are almost non-existent, and if, as in the event of divorce, the woman

re-enters her parental circle, her former possessions return to the family jurisdiction. It is not generally realised that Japan holds the world's records for the number of divorces. The law courts can grant a divorce, but the more general procedure is the erasure of the wife's name from the family records at the City Hall, and its re-entry on her parent's roll. A Japanese woman is not only subservient to her husband by tradition and in bearing, but also in law. If her husband should dally too long with a geisha, and bring home an illegitimate son, this son will bear the family name and will rank higher in precedence than the wife and her own natural daughter.

As a married woman she probably counts herself lucky, for her less fortunately situated sisters in the coolie class work like men, often stripped to the waist, at incredibly hard tasks, such as concrete mixing or ship-coaling.

In recent years, minority movements have tried to gain some standing for women in general in the Japanese way of life, but without much success. The relatively free, high-spirited and happy foreign women contrast vividly with women who are rarely free, never natural, and seldom happy. Even relaxation in amusement is largely denied her. She seldom attends public functions with her husband, but may take a magazine or two and go gay at home.

The family unit reigns supreme in Japan and the individual counts for little. Filial piety is carried to amazing lengths, and as the woman's place in it is a lowly one, she is a neglected member of the circle. Privacy is sought after, but in a land where only the rich can hide themselves away behind fences and trees, space restrictions compel private life to be spent almost in public. Women never

seem to wear hats and rarely wear stockings. Bitterly cold and wet weather brings them the greatest luxury they permit themselves, the wearing of *tabi*, the cleft-toe socks which cover the ankle only. Wooden sandals or clogs clack down the cobbled streets, and in muddy weather a special stilt-like clog is worn.

Japan teems with vivid contrasts with Western life, and prominent among them is public transport. Women take a leading part in this, for, with the exception of China, it is doubtful whether in any other country so much is carried by hand. Even in Tokyo vast burdens are transported one one's back, by barrow and cycle-trailer, and in the scuffle for the noisy and overcrowded trams, the women come off the worst. Travel is not a popular undertaking in Japan and the people are not seen at their best in transit; in fact, a Japanese proverb says, "Bad manners on a journey, no need for apology."

In this land of tradition as recently as 1914, when the Dowager Empress of Japan had the misfortune to die outside the capital, she was considered officially alive until she reached the palace, where she might then die. Farewell audiences were given, reception parties of nobility met the "live" body at Tokyo station, and the same carriage, escort and troops took part in a public procession, with the same crowds watching, as was normal. The living Empress had to welcome the remains when the carriage reached the palace, and the former Empress was not allowed to "die" until she reached the privacy of her own room.

Amongst the many tasks confronting the Allies in the re-education of Japan, the problem of emancipating her women after their centuries of oppression, is more formidable than is generally appreciated.

SOME SHRINES OF JAPAN

by Edwin G. Voller

JAPANESE shrines in themselves are not very different from any other Oriental shrines. They have the same large carvings, the same type of pilgrims and the same kind of priests. Yet among these all-too-familiar surroundings, it is possible to come across things of universal interest, such as the sacred white horse, an animal which is revered by thousands of Japanese. Why the creature is of such importance is difficult to say, but all pilgrims flock to its stall to give it food on the plates provided for this purpose. One of the queer legends about the horse is that nobody is ever able to photograph it from a head-on view. Photographs were shown at the time to prove this, and certainly all of those bore out the story. Another point was that the horse seemed to panic at the sight of a camera, so the legend may have something more in it than appears at first.

No doubt the most unexpected thing to find in these surroundings is the first Japanese aeroplane, together with some old swords and other weapons, in a hall-shrine on the top of a hill. Whether the shrine is meant to be a

sort of museum or a place where the Japanese can indulge in a bit of war-worship is doubtful. Probably a little of both.

In another part is an enclosure containing thousands—some say as many as a million—rice scoops which are like small fans. Similar scoops can be bought from a woman nearby, the object being to get your name inscribed on the scoop—she has all the necessary paraphernalia for this—and then leave your purchase in a basket in the enclosure with all the others.

An interesting story which shows the ingenuity and sacrificial spirit of the Japanese is to be found in connection with the solid-wood roof of one of the larger shrines. The boards were so heavy it was impossible at that time to find strong enough ropes to lift the roof to its place. The only way out, the authorities said, was to have hair ropes. So the women from near and far shaved off their hair to provide the material. The mighty ropes, composed of this hair, can still be seen in the shrine.

THE PEAK

by Paul S. Townsend

HE stood on the prow of the boat, his lips twisting with cynical amusement as he stared up at the lifting mountains of Hong Kong. He remembered his surprise five years before when he had first caught sight of the island, and its mountains.

They were so completely unexpected. They were not tropical, covered with luxuriant herbage. On the contrary, they reminded him strongly of the mountains of the Lake District back home. And the weather which had greeted him—that was even more surprising than the hills. High winds and swept about him bleakly as he stood on "The Peak," leaping through the one mountain gap, over the smooth basin of the harbour, and out again to challenge the fury of the China Sea.

Standing on the pinnacle of "The Peak" he had looked down at the Island which was to be his home for the next five years. Then it had been his ambition to live half way up the gentle slope, where all the white people of any importance lived.

For the Peak had a social significance. He knew, even then, so long ago, that he would never live on the top. For only the élite of society lived in the exclusive circle on the summit. Still, he had been content with his half-way ambition. He prided himself that he knew his limitations. The top—well, he would never reach that. But the objective he had set himself—yes, he would attain that, he felt certain.

Now, he remembered the five years as his eyes dropped to the closely packed houses of the Chinese slums at the very base of the Peak. He recalled them in summers, hot, steaming, humid, perspiring summers. Yes, they had all been like that—exactly the same. And they had been five years of failure.

The job offered him had seemed attractive enough financially. He had calculated that he would be able to save a substantial portion of his salary, saving against the day when he would return to England. By the time he was ready to go back the Old Country would be on its feet again. And now that day had come. The boat would soon be slipping out of the smooth waters of the harbour, and he had saved nothing—not a penny.

He tried once again to understand his failure, just as he had tried so many times before. He hadn't spent his money lavishly or extravagantly. He had never resorted to spirits, for instance, though he had often been tempted to do so. Nor had he smoked heavily or entertained friends. But the essentials—they had been expensive, and he found he needed comforts and luxuries which he would not have required in England. For some reason he had lived up to his income, occasionally even beyond it.

Yet he had never meant to do so. It was the job, he decided wearily. The work was without interest. It was monotonous, merely a matter of routine. And there was the added difficulty of being away from home. He had quickly realised the misery of being transplanted. He had

torn himself up by the roots, and he had not settled in his new surroundings. Indeed, he had felt like a prisoner—a prisoner on the island of Hong Kong.

The days had passed slowly, but the nights had proved an even heavier burden. The job had no prospects, and there was no incentive to study. The nights had become unbearably wearisome until he visited one of the lower class night clubs, just for a change.

And there he had met the Chinese girl. She had a shapely, sinuous figure, and an oval face with vividly painted lips. In the half-light she appeared unusually good-looking. At least, that was how she had appealed to him, and she had captivated him as completely as any drug. She provided the only spark of interest, the one source of happiness.

His ambition to live half way up "The Peak" had receded, and he had found himself living at the base of the mountain in one of the hovels of the Chinese slums. His sense of frustration and defeat deepened, and the woman became hateful. Yet she remained his one link with the rest of the human family, and she still exerted a strange fascination. He still longed for her, with a longing he was powerless to resist.

The last year had dragged more slowly than all the first four together. Days seemed to stretch into months and months into years. Until, at last, everything had become unendurable. The urge to get away became even more powerful than the attraction of the dirty, brown-coloured, scarlet-lipped woman.

In a passion of desperation amounting almost to panic, he had broken his contract before it was due to expire. He broke it, sending in his resignation. His nerves were troubling him. That, he well knew, was much more than an excuse. It was true. He forfeited a substantial sum of money due to him on the completion of his contract. But he didn't care. He was desperate. He must get away.

He was conscious that the boat was moving from the quay side, beginning the journey to the open sea. His last few pounds had been spent on his passage home. He was returning empty-handed, almost penniless. Yet he felt a thrill of relief as the boat ploughed steadily across the harbour and the island of Hong Kong slipped back and away from him. He turned, intending to go below deck, when a familiar figure in a sampan caught his attention. He found himself looking into an oval face, brown and crimson-lipped. The face wore a curious leer of triumph. The sight of it set him quivering with repulsion and he flung himself away and went swiftly down the companionway into the sanctuary of the boat.

When at last he ventured on deck again the island of Hong Kong and the Peak had disappeared below the horizon. He felt like a prisoner who had escaped. He was returning to England with nothing—save his freedom and his experiences.

THE GIANT PANDA

by Eric Hardy

CHINESE literature has known that "Bei-shung" the little white bear dwelt amongst the hill-men, half Chinese, half Tibetan, ever since the Tang Dynasty which began in the year 621.

In the unexplored mountains of Western China, this engaging, woolly-coated "bear," all white save for his dark limbs, shoulders, ears and eyes, lives amongst the bamboos that grow sheltered in the warm sides of the valleys. The bamboo jungle is so thick in some parts of these mountains that it is only with great difficulty that men can force their way through it. This animal's home is also visited by the Tibetan black bear, and the long-haired Chinese tiger hunts in the valleys in summer and winter. The Chinese tiger-cat lurks in the jungles along the valleys where the South China leopard also roams. Larger than good-sized rats are the musk-smelling civets of these places, while from the caves in the rocks the wild pigeons fly from their nesting ledges with a clatter of wings. Yellow-billed crows haunt the high peaks, and sailing aloft on broad wings goes the lammergeir vulture, bearded carrion-hunter, seeking to devour even the bones of the prey it may see far in the valleys below. The Tibetan lark sings the song of these hills where roam the delicate gazelle and the wild sheep.

Expedition after expedition failed to capture the almost fabulous giant panda, even though the Jesuit missionary Armand David first informed the western world of the existence (when he sent its skin to France for a scientific description) as long ago as 1868. Not until 1937 did the western world see a live giant panda, when the first one arrived in New York's Zoological Garden. In the following year the London Zoo received its first specimen.

There are several names for it in Western China—"Bei-Shung" or "Pei-hsiung," or even "Hua Hsiung," but they all mean something like white or speckled bear. We western naturalists call it the giant panda not because it is very big in itself, but because there is a much smaller or lesser panda which was known long before and which is by far the commoner of the two. For a long time naturalists debated the place of the new panda in the world of animal classification. Finally it was given its own special position between the true bears, and the raccoons and the kinkajous or honey-bears, in a genera named the *Ailuropoda*. *Ailuropoda melanoleuca* thus became the international scientific name by which naturalists know the creature.

Big and clumsy to look at in the zoo, the panda is a past expert at slipping unseen through the slim bamboo canes where in the half light his black and white body

disappeared like smoke before the crashing progress of the hunters.

In habits he is not entirely bear-like: he claims kinship both with the bears and with the raccoons and kinkajous. His only relative known to naturalists is the luxuriantly red-coated lesser panda, with a long furry tail of dark rings and a face as white as if somebody had pushed it into the flour bin. But that is a rather common animal, and the mischievous giant panda shares many of its raccoon-like habits. As shy as the badger, as tough and hardy as the wild goats and sheep Marco Polo knew, the giant panda shows no desire to meet the men who penetrate its fastnesses. The rain or snow that falls so often rarely penetrates far into the jungle of bamboos, and there are always sufficient rocks for it to shelter under, whether it seeks sanctuary from summer heat or winter storm. The clouds hang low down the valleys and only the quickest hunter can follow up a creature that leaves no scent under such conditions. The panda has been hunted by concealing a trap in a little hole in the ground, just big enough for the animal's foot. Beneath dead leaves at the foot of the bamboos a slip noose is concealed, with a bent sapling and a stout wire to snap up and securely tie the unwary animals plodding along that way.

The bamboo gradually gives way to great spruce trees, some old and dead and affording in their hollow trunks hiding for the animal where they are believed to breed, concealing whimpering baby pandas in much the same way that their big cousins the bears do.

Through the whole of the winter the panda's haunts are snow-covered and his piebald patterning of fur is probably as much to give him warmth (for white resists cold as well as heat) as to camouflage him amongst rocks and snow. The black shadows of tall bamboo stems in the snow also help to hide him. Walking would be very difficult for such a clumsy creature in the deep and heavy winter snow-drifts; but the panda retires like a bear, fat from the sumptuous feeds of autumn, and probably gives birth to its cubs under such conditions of long winter seclusion in the caves and forest depths, emerging in spring with its new-born family to seek the succulent young shoots that are sprouting up all around out of the fast melting snows.

Several shooting expeditions to the Tibetan-Chinese border helped to make the giant panda rarer, and since world-wide publicity has made the animal of great public interest in Britain and America, it is obviously necessary that China should protect its pandas from extinction. The Szechwan provincial government, at the request of the Academia Sinica, has therefore limited the catching of pandas to one pair every five years.

ECONOMIC SECTION

Canada's Trade With The Far East

by V. Wolpert

CANADA'S geographical position favours her trade with the Far East. The highly developed agriculture and forestry, the abundant wealth of certain natural resources combined with high industrial skill of the population establish the basis for large scale exports from Canada. The industrialisation of Canada has made her an important exporter of manufactured goods, especially of the motor-car industry, for which the Far East provides potential and extensive markets. On the other hand, owing to the high standard of living of the Canadian population, the country is able to absorb many goods from the Far East. Therefore, from the economic point of view, the possibilities for the development of two-way trade between Canada and the Far Eastern countries are promising.

Between 1934 and 1938 the value of Canadian exports of fully manufactured goods to Asia had increased by 50 per cent., and the value of semi-manufactured goods had even doubled, while the export of raw materials increased by only 15 per cent. During the same period the value of Canadian imports of raw materials from Asia had increased five times, and the import of semi-manufactured goods more than six times. As imports from Asia increased on a much higher scale than Canadian exports to that continent, the Canadian trade which was active with 10 million Canadian dollars in 1934, became balanced in 1938.

	Canada's Exports to Asia (in million Canadian dollars)		Canada's Imports from Asia (in million Canadian dollars)	
	1934	1938	1934	1938
Raw material	4.8	5.5	3.2	16.9
Semi-manufact. goods	10.8	21.9	1.3	8.0
Fully manufact. goods	10.7	15.9	11.7	18.6
Total	26.3	43.3	16.2	43.5

The War and its aftermath of great dislocations and re-orientation of trade in Asia brought considerable ups and downs in Canadian trade with the Far East. During the war-years Canadian export to India rose to an extraordinary extent. On the other hand, the War has interrupted the trade with Japan, the country which in 1938 took 2.5 per cent. of the Canadian total export, and over 60 per cent. of Canada's exports to Asia. The post-war years

show only a slow resumption of Canadian trade with Japan. The Civil War in China, the unsettled political situation in South-East Asia and the general dollar shortage are adversely affecting Canada's trade with that part of the world.

The recently published figures show that in the first 7 months of last year Canada's imports from most of the Far Eastern countries have increased, while Canadian exports to most of these countries in the first 8 months of last year have decreased against the respective periods of 1947, as shown by the following tables.

CANADA'S IMPORTS FROM THE EAST

	(in million Canadian dollars)		
	1948	1947	1937-38 year ended 31.3.38
	first 7 mths.	first 7 mths.	
India	23.1		
Pakistan	0.6	23.6	9.4
Burma	6.0	1.9	
Ceylon	6.3	6.2	6.1
British Malaya	11.4	11.2	
Straits Settlements			15.6
Hong Kong	0.9	0.5	0.8
China	3.1	1.8	3.3
Japan	0.5	0.04	5.8
N.E.I.	0.2	0.1	0.7
Philippines	5.7	6.5	0.7
Australia	11.0	9.9	12.1
New Zealand	6.8	6.9	7.4
Canada's total imports	1,495.2	1,483.5	799.1

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CANADA'S EXPORTS TO THE EAST

	(in million Canadian dollars)		
	1948	1947	1938
	first 8 mths.	first 8 mths.	Total year ended 31.3.38
India	16.1	26.58	4.4
Pakistan	1.3		
Burma	0.12		
Ceylon	1.2		
British Malaya	5.7	4.7	0.2
Straits Settlements			2.9
Hong Kong	5.2	3.7	2.0
China	19.3	23.7	3.4
Japan	2.8	0.5	26.6
N.E.I.	5.1	4.0	0.7
Philippines	3.8	8.2	1.8
Australia	22.3	40.4	32.5
New Zealand	11.6	22.0	16.0
Canada's total exports	1,875.1	1,786.3	1,070.2

Canada's chief exports to the Far East are products of the motor-car industry and newsprint, while wheat and flour are exported to the Far East only on a small scale.

MOTOR CAR INDUSTRY EXPORTS:

Besides Australia, India took over 17 per cent. and Malaya over 11 per cent. of the total Canadian export of trucks and that India imported over 12 per cent of the total Canadian export of motor-car parts.

CANADIAN EXPORTS IN THE EIGHT MONTHS OF 1948

	(all figures in thousand Canadian dollars)		
	Freight cars	Cars	Motor-car parts
India	1,594	357	1,228
Pakistan	112	51	53
Burma			13
Ceylon	130	52	61
British Malaya	1,230	568	148
Hong Kong	30	152	5
China			81
Korea			7
N.E.I.	806	211	288
Siam	6	22	
Australia	3,437	5,182	828
New Zealand	537	602	668
Total	13,268	11,152	10,151

WHEAT AND FLOUR EXPORTS

In the first eight months of 1948 the value of Canada's total wheat flour exports amounted to 77.9 million Canadian dollars, of which India's share was 0.76 million dollars, and China's share only 0.48 million dollars. Canadian wheat and flour exports to the Far East were adversely influenced by Australian competition as early

as 1930. Thus, while for some years following World War I Canada sold large quantities of wheat to China, in the years 1931-5 of the 52 million bushels imported by China only 11 per cent. were supplied by Canada, and 63 per cent. by Australia. The average Japanese wheat imports during the years 1930-35 amounted to 21.4 million bushels, of which 17.9 per cent. came from Canada, while Australia supplied 77.6 per cent. In 1939 Canadian wheat exports to Japan were negligible.

NEWSPRINT EXPORTS

	1948		1938	
	first 8 mths. (1,000 cwt.)	(1,000 dol.)	fiscal year (1,000 cwt.)	(1,000 dol.)
India	176.0	1,126.8		
Pakistan	8.0	48.0	118.8	242.7
Burma	1.1	6.8		
Ceylon	24	130.5	—	—
Straits Settlements	52.5	389.1	2.9	6.7
Hong Kong	85.5	607.2	67.0	191.3
China	336.7	2,335.8	145.9	413.1
Japan	—	—	531.5	1,303.1
Korea	0.4	2.8	—	—
N.E.I.	5.9	43.3	41.3	127.2
Philippines	—	—	99.6	272.2
Siam	1.0	7.2	—	—
Australia	354.0	1,708.3	2,368.6	4,882.1
New Zealand	313.0	1,501.3	667.7	1,329.7
Total	55,416.7	241,013.7	63,815.8	120,007.6

(The recent decline of exports to Australia is to be explained by the dollar saving policy of the Australian Government.)

TRADE WITH THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

The development of trade between Canada and the Indian subcontinent during the years 1938-1946 is shown by the following table:—

	Canada's imports	Canada's exports
	(in million Canadian dollars)	
1938	8.18	2.86
1940	16.04	11.24
1941	17.87	38.04
1942	21.35	167.88
1943	17.09	134.58
1944	27.88	174.79
1945	30.57	307.46
1946	27.88	49.05

Canada's main imports from this area consisted of tea and jute. Tea imports amounted to 12.8 million Canadian dollars in 1945, and to 6.8 million dollars in 1946, while jute and jute products amounted to 12.7 million dollars in 1945, and 12.5 million dollars in 1946.

Canada's main exports to the Indian subcontinent in the same two years were wheat (1945—30.6 million Canadian dollars; 1946—20.1 million Canadian dollars) and iron and steel products, including motor-cars (1945—207.7 million Canadian dollars; 1946—14.9 million Canadian dollars). The 1945 high exports of iron, iron

products, machinery and cars are to be explained by war-time conditions, as well as by the fact that the supply from Europe was cut off from the Indian market.

In the first half of 1948 Canadian exports to India amounted to 10,747,769 Canadian dollars, including newsprint paper—739,000 dollars; railway rails—1,333,000 dollars; cars and parts—2,155,000 dollars; textile machinery—238,000 dollars; aluminium bars, wires, manufactures—1,700,000 dollars; fertilizer—466,000 dollars.

In the first half of 1948 Canadian exports to Pakistan amounted to 891,061 Canadian dollars (including for ships 740,000 dollars and for newsprint paper 38,500 Canadian dollars).

TRADE WITH CHINA

Canada's exports to China always exceed by far the imports from there. 1926-27 was the peak year in the trade between the two countries, when Canada's exports reached nearly 24.5 million Canadian dollars, while imports from China amounted to 5.1 million Canadian dollars. Timber, wood products, pulp, paper, nickel, aluminium, lead and other non-ferrous metals as well as agricultural produce were among the main items of Canada's pre-war exports to China. About two-thirds of Canada's imports from China consisted of agricultural produce (peanuts, walnuts, tea, spices), while silk and silk goods as well as other textiles were important items.

In the first half of 1948 the total value of Canada's exports to China amounted to 16 million dollars against nearly 19 million dollars in the corresponding period of 1947. Among the main items of export were: wheat flour worth 476,000 Canadian dollars (against 6.9 million dollars in the first half of 1947); motor vehicles, casings and inner tubes—291,000 dollars (10,000 dollars); newsprint paper—1,899,442 dollars (1.7 million dollars); metal working machinery—2,305,000 Canadian dollars (534,000); aluminium bars, ingots, blooms—542,000 dollars (374,000); fertilisers—312,000 Canadian dollars (1.8 million dollars).

CANADA'S TRADE WITH HONG KONG

Canada's exports to Hong Kong which amounted to 2.7 million Canadian dollars in the first six months of 1947, rose to 3.7 million dollars in the corresponding period of

1948. It may be assumed that some of these exports were transhipped to China. Main items of Canada's exports in the first half of 1948 were: newsprint paper worth 524,000 dollars (against 253,000 dollars in the corresponding period of 1947); brass bars, rods, sheets—199,000 dollars (59,000 dollars); mineral wax—219,000 dollars (97,000 dollars); motor-cars and parts—155,000 dollars (84,000 Canadian dollars); spirits—144,000 Canadian dollars (111,000 dollars).

TRADE WITH JAPAN

Before the War Canada represented an important source of supply for Japanese economy while Japanese exports to Canada constituted only a very small percentage of her total exports. The trade between the two countries reached its climax in 1929, when Canadian exports to Japan amounted to nearly 42.1 million Canadian dollars, and Canadian imports from Japan to 12.9 million Canadian dollars. In the following years the trade between these countries decreased considerably. The following table shows the trade figures for the years 1936-38. It is noteworthy that the value of Canada's exports each year was at least 4 times higher than the value of imports from Japan.

	Canada's exports to Japan (million Canadian dollars)	Canada's imports from Japan (million Canadian dollars)
1936	14.8	3.5
1937	21.6	4.8
1938	26.6	5.8

Canada's imports from Japan consisted mainly of silk, cotton goods and tea, while she exported to Japan primary products, lumber, pulp, wheat and non-ferrous metals. While in 1928/29 wheat exports represented 49 per cent. of the total exports, in 1939 non-ferrous metals constituted nearly 93 per cent. of the total.

The resumption of trade between the two countries during the post-war period is proceeding very slowly. In the first 6 months of 1948 Canada's exports to Japan amounted to 2,278,560 Canadian dollars, including sulphite pulp worth 486,000 dollars; coal—1,473,000 dollars; while in the same period of 1947 the value of total exports was 415,293 dollars, including fertilisers for 356,000 Canadian dollars.

NOTES ON THE RUBBER INDUSTRY

by A Special Correspondent

SECONDARY PRODUCTS—CREPE AND LATEX.

Since the war, smoked sheet rubber has been challenged as the predominant form of saleable raw rubber. Estates have taken to producing various specialised forms of rubber for which there has been a considerable demand, and which have proved exceptionally profitable. Before the war some estates specialised in crepe rubber

production. The fashion for crepe-soled shoes, particularly in the U.S.A., has much increased the demand since the rubber market has become free. Until buyers resistance developed both in Britain and the U.S.A., sole crepe enjoyed a record price rising to as much as 4s. per lb. in 1947. It has now fallen to below 2s. per lb.

There is no particular difficulty about the manufacture

of sole crepe. The reason for the high price was that few estates were equipped with the necessary processing machinery. Now the latter is available and many estates in Malaya and Ceylon are able to produce crepe. Markets in the U.K. and the U.S.A. are overstocked and shipments of sole crepe had to be reduced. It looks as if the high profits enjoyed in the immediate post-war period have gone, and some estates are abandoning their crepe production in favour of the standard smoked sheet rubber, or the ordinary thick or thin crepe. Ordinary crepe, which is distinct from sole crepe, enjoyed a boom of its own eighteen months ago, when it fetched 6d. more per lb. than smoked sheet. In 1947, however, the price fell to only a penny or two more than smoked sheet, and it seems as though it will stay there.

Some feel that there is still a future in latex. Latex, rubber in liquid form, is not difficult to produce although, like sole crepe, it is still practically the monopoly of the big estates. It is very convenient for manufacturing processes and the technical experts are full of ideas for its development. In Malaya it represented 10½ per cent. of the total output of the European estates in 1947 and in the first six months of 1948 this figure rose to 15 per cent. The reason why latex production is not practical for the smallholder is that expensive steel drums are needed to ship it. These drums were in short supply up to this year, which kept production down and prices up. In 1947, creamed latex was about 11s. a gallon. Today with larger supplies and supply tending to outstrip demand, the price has fallen by a third. Ordinary latex, in less concentrated form, is about 6s. a gallon. It is felt that better methods of collecting and transport may reduce the present high cost of production. Some estates specialise in certain types of latex for special purposes. If automobile manufacturers adopted foamed rubber upholstery there would be a vast market open for it. Natural latex, luckily, is considerably superior to the synthetic variety.

What is the future for the specialised types of natural rubber? The market at present is heavy and it looks as if the early start which Malayan estates achieved in latex production has been lost. Already Ceylon is developing latex and the Dutch expect to make great strides in the same direction. Like sole crepe, latex has not got the regular market that smoked sheet has. The early high prices in sole crepe have undoubtedly departed. There are some who feel that unless there are spectacular developments in the use of latex it will become a much less important item in the rubber industry than in the past.

SYNTHETIC RUBBER PROGRESS.

New technical developments in synthetic rubber production were heralded by the decision of the American Government Reconstruction Finance Corporation to approve plans costing \$3,500,000 for an eight-fold increase in the production of "cold rubber." These plans will be fulfilled by the beginning of 1949 when production of "cold rubber," previously running at 21,000 tons a year, will reach the rate of 160,000 tons a year or about half the total of synthetic rubber production. Both producers and

manufacturers are reported to be enthusiastic over the new process.

It is claimed that "cold rubber" is superior not only to the ordinary GR-S, but also to natural rubber, especially for tyre production, in which synthetic rubber has so far proved decidedly inferior to the natural product. Chemists of Philips' Petroleum Co., told a meeting of the American Chemical Society that "comparative tests show that the low temperature chemical rubber tyres are superior in tread wear, as well as in chipping and cracking, to first line tyres made of natural rubber. . . . The new rubber also makes excellent truck treads, a thing impossible with GR-S."

It is estimated that "cold rubber" will out-wear the natural product by as much as 30 per cent. It has long been known that GR-S could be substantially improved if the temperatures at which butadiene and styrene were cooked together could be lowered. The difficulty lay in the fact that this process took a long time. Experiments, however, managed at last to bring the process down to about the same time as that needed for ordinary GR-S. The alterations to existing plant are relatively minor. "Cold rubber" will not cost more than one extra cent above the present price of 18½ cents for ordinary synthetic rubber.

RUBBER PROSPECTS FOR 1949.

It looks as if the Rubber Study Group estimate of 1,390,000 tons for 1948 will be well beaten. Production for the eleven months to November is 1,382,000 tons and there is no doubt that the original estimate will be surpassed by at least a 100,000 tons. The 1949 estimate of 1,547,000 tons, will, judging by 1948, certainly be below expectations. The principal bulwarks of the rubber market in 1948 were American purchases, including 100,000 tons for stockpiling, and the surprise item of 100,000 tons bought by the Soviet Union. This has not, nevertheless, prevented a surplus of production over consumption. Figures for the first eleven months of 1948 show that 105,000 tons were produced above the consumption figure.

It is not known how long American stockpiling will continue. News of a sharp fall in retail purchases and an equally sharp rise in unemployment in the States are not good news for rubber producers. A "recession" in the United States might well mean less rubber imports and an increase in synthetic production to give work at home.

Soviet purchases of Malayan rubber dropped off towards the end of 1948. There were serious complaints from the Russians that although they purchased high-grade rubber in Singapore, only the poorer qualities arrived in Soviet ports. This is believed to be due to dock-side substitution by Chinese exporters. Soviet purchases in 1948 are impossible to forecast. They have undoubtedly ample foreign currency, but political pressure may prevent Soviet acquisition of such a valuable raw material as rubber. It would be interesting to know the terms of the Soviet offer to purchase Ceylon's entire rubber output, and for what reason the offer was turned down.

PAKISTAN'S HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEMES

by H. A. Sims

THE industrial standing of Pakistan turns upon her ability to exploit her power resources to the full. Her power potential, particularly in regard to hydro-electric development, is immense. At the present time Pakistan's power is derived, with the exception of a hydro-electric installation at Malakand, North-West Frontier, with a maximum output of 9,000 kilowatts, solely from coal and oil. There are nine steam power stations using coal. Of these, two are in Sind and have a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts; five are in West Punjab and have a capacity of 27,000 kilowatts. The remaining two are in East Bengal with a capacity of 3,200 kilowatts. Together these stations are putting out something like 35,000 kilowatts of electricity.

Coal in Pakistan is obtained from West Punjab, Hazara district, the Chirat Hills, Kohat and South Waziristan. Baluchistan also has coal and it is found in substantial quantities in areas such as Quetta, Makerwal. That of the West Punjab is of first rate quality and about 20,000 tons is obtained annually. The rest from the other areas is of rather inferior quality.

There are also sixty seven power stations running with oil, including 29 in the West Punjab and 16 in East Bengal, with a total output of about 27,000 kilowatts. They mostly use imported Diesel oil. The Attock oil fields produce about 75,000,000 gallons a year but unfortunately it is of a bituminous grade which limits its usefulness.

So much for the present position. For the immediate future the steam stations at Shahdra and Rawalpindi are installing generators to give them an additional 8,000 and 4,000 kilowatts and the Government has decided to exploit the existing coal mines aiming at an output of 500,000 tons annually. To get the most out of the oil stations it is expected that the customs duty on imported Diesel oil for electric generators will be lifted and the freight charges for its transport reduced.

Sind, Baluchistan and East Bengal are to be thoroughly prospected for oil, and work which was abandoned at Khanota, because of the war, is to be resumed. The presence of oil is suspected near Jacobabad and Sukkur as well as near Hyderabad (Sind). In the opinion of Sir Roland Gee—formerly of the Survey of India—there are oil deposits stretching from the foot of the Kashmir Hills to Baluchistan and in such quantity as to justify the risk of a large financial outlay being devoted to the exploitation of these areas. Three oil prospecting parties have already been sent by one of the world's leading oil companies to investigate in Sind, Baluchistan and East Bengal.

In hydro-electric development and in the expansion of existing plants the Government of Pakistan is carrying out an ambitious programme which will provide an abundance of cheap electricity for both domestic and industrial use. Two 11,000 kilowatt Kaplan generating sets are to be included in the hydro-electric installation now being built at Rasul on the Upper Jhelum Canal. Their turbines will be the biggest in Pakistan and will electrify thirty

towns in Gujranwala, Sheikhpora, Lyallpur, Jhang, Sialkot, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Shahpur districts. This scheme will also work several tube wells for lift irrigation and the reclamation of waterlogged areas. Two further projects which have been approved by the Government and which will shortly be in hand are hydro-electric schemes for Dargai and Warsak in the North West Frontier Province which envisages the harnessing of the Kabul river. It is estimated that the output of 100,000 kilowatts will leave about 65,000 kilowatts for the West Punjab after the Frontier Province's needs have been met. The projects should be finished by 1955 at a cost of £1,100,000 and £6,500,000 each. Another 10,000 kilowatts is expected from the installation of a hydro-electric plant at Mangla to utilise a 30 foot fall near the headworks of the Upper Jhelum Canal and two further plants in the West Punjab will be located in the districts of Mianwali with an estimated output of 26,000 kilowatts.

There are several more suitable sites for the production of electric power on the upper reaches of the Indus river. The hydro-electric projects for the Eastern Nara Section of the scheme is under active consideration by the local government and it is expected that this, in combination with the Rohri hydro-electric power house (which is under construction with 66,000 volt lines), will supply 135,000 kilowatts which will cover about forty different places helping to electrify trains as well as the industry of the province. This scheme will be completed in five years.

In Eastern Pakistan three separate investigations have been made for the location of suitable sites for hydro-electric plant on the Soma, Sherwari and Kirnafulli rivers. The Kirnafulli river scheme is particularly important as it is expected to produce 60,000 kilowatts which will play a vital part in the jute industry around Chandpur.

The Government of Pakistan realises that still further intensive geological surveys will be necessary for the development and the expansion of the Dominion's industry. All such surveys in the past appear to have been confined to Central India, while what is now Pakistan seems to have been almost entirely neglected. Sir Henry Howard, engineer consultant to the Pakistan Government, recommended the establishment of a statutory Power Board; to be assisted by Provincial Boards and regional Advisory Committees. A central authority should be vested with responsibility for the initiation, co-ordination, utilisation and control of water and power resources. The Pakistan Government, therefore, has set up a Central Engineering Authority under the Chairmanship of Mr. Mohsin Ali. The organisation incorporates the former offices of the Electrical Commissioner, the Central Technical Power Board, the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission. Its chief function will be to co-ordinate the engineering activities of the provinces and states and to assist them in the preparation of water control, electric power, drainage, irrigation and navigation schemes.

ECONOMIC PUBLICATIONS

NIEDERLAENDISCH INDIEN by Dr. Oei Tjong Bo
(Orell Fuessli, Zurich.)

THIS book contains a wealth of information on economic development of Indonesia, and thus provides valuable background material for the latest events there. It gives a historical survey of economic systems imposed by the Dutch since the beginning of the 17th Century, and shows the variance of conditions in different parts of the N.E.I. (including the overpopulation of Java). The economic importance of the area is clearly demonstrated by the following figures: in 1938 Indonesia produced 90 per cent. of the total world production of Peruvian bark, 64 per cent. of capoc, 85 per cent. of pepper, 33 per cent. of rubber, 29 per cent. of copra, 25 per cent. of agave, 17 per cent. of tea, 24 per cent. of oil palm products, 4 per cent. of coffee, and 5 per cent. of sugar. Concerning the trade between the N.E.I. and Holland in the 20th Century it is noteworthy that while in 1909-13 Holland took 26.3 per cent. of the Indonesian exports, in 1937-8 Holland's share dropped to 20 per cent. Holland's share of Indonesian imports decreased from 32.5 per cent. in 1900-13 to 13.4 per cent. in 1935, amounted to 19.1 per cent. in 1937, and rose to 22 per cent. in the first ten months of 1938. The author points out that while rubber and sugar are the main export items of Indonesia, Holland's demand for rubber is small, and that Holland imports only small quantities of sugar. Dr. Oei draws the conclusion that Indonesia needs Western technique and organisation for the carrying out of modern economic development. Co-operation with Holland in the economic sphere would therefore be of great advantage, but a form of co-operation which would eliminate any remnants of colonial dependency, and would be based on the free will and complete equality of both nations. The chapter "The Capital Market" contains interesting data on the differentiation in the income of various population groups in Indonesia, and shows that in 1938 the Europeans (0.4 per cent. of the total population in Indonesia) earned 63.5 per cent.; foreigners from Asiatic countries (2.2 per cent. of the population), 23.5 per cent.; while the native population representing 97.4 per cent. of the total population in Indonesia) earned only 13 per cent. of the total taxable income. The author throughout the book describes at length Dutch-Indonesian economic relations and the trend of the Dutch attitude towards Indonesia during the last 300 years. It is, however, regrettable that he does not try to estimate Dutch profits gained from

investments and other commercial activities in Indonesia. A description of Indonesian Trade Unions is unfortunately also missing, although a number of Employers' Organisations are described.

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY, by P. T. Bauer. (London School of Economics, 25s.)

THIS is probably the most important book on the rubber industry yet published. It gives a detailed account of the effects of the two between-the-war economic crises on the industry, and of the restriction schemes arising therefrom. Mr. Bauer includes a mass of detailed information on the labour situation, the threat of synthetic rubber and of the relative value of plantation and smallholder production, which no one in any way concerned with this vital industry can afford to ignore. Some have accused Mr. Bauer of favouring the interests of the smallholder against those of the plantation companies. It is certainly true that he makes out a good case for those who consider that the rubber industry in the past has favoured the big producer. His criticisms of the top-heavy financial and administrative structure of the plantation companies is valid enough, and applies—as critics of British methods point out—to practically every British industry. Mr. Bauer's thesis is that the smallholder is not such a bad rubber producer as is generally believed, and that he can produce rubber at a more "economic" price than the plantation, with its European managers, agents and secretaries, directors and shareholders—all eagerly awaiting their salaries, fees and dividends. What is more, in view of the competition of synthetic rubber, and a possible glut of the natural product, the future of the plantations is by no means cheerful. These facts cannot be contradicted. There are few who would prophesy long-term prosperity for the plantation industry. Mr. Bauer thinks that, with proper State assistance, the smallholder can produce rubber at a very much lower price than the big plantations, and that the industry can be maintained as one of the pillars of British interests in the East. He also states that "an extension of small private ownership would be conducive to the social stability of the country." It is not correct to see Mr. Bauer as the defender of the Malayan smallholders. This book is a plea for the necessity of sacrificing the plantations and encouraging the smallholders in order that the big rubber consumers in Britain and the U.S.A. should obtain their raw materials at a much lower cost than they do today. Whether this will benefit the smallholder in the long run, we cannot say. The position of the smallholder in Asia generally, at the mercy of landlord and usurer, is not a happy one. Mr. Bauer, however, can be congratulated on collecting such an important mass of material on rubber, and in airing a viewpoint which, in the not too distant future, will undoubtedly prove an important one.

ECONOMIC NOTES

NORTH BORNEO'S RISING EXPORTS

North Borneo's exports, despite labour shortages, passed the estimated total of £4,000,000 at the end of 1948. In the most recent meeting of the Advisory Council the Governor of North Borneo, Sir Edward Francis Twining, told of the improving position in the Colony which came under the British Colonial Office eighteen months ago.

In 1947 the territory recovered 50 per cent. of its industrial potential, in the Governor's estimation. In 1948, he stated, more than 80 per cent. was reached and he expected that 100 per cent. would be achieved in 1949. Nearly 60 per cent. of the Colony's exports are in rubber and this has increased despite a very considerable labour shortage. The labour position is improving but the number of

workers is still low. In 1941 the estimated labour force was 20,500, in the third quarter of 1948 it was only 16,500, but that figure was an increase of 4,000 on the 1947 total of workers. The Governor also envisages improvements in the valuable livestock industry, which means an increased meat supply for the Colony and the building up of a useful export trade.

JAPANESE LOOT RETURNED TO CHINA

U.S. \$14 million worth of Chinese property looted by the Japanese during the war has been restituted to China, according to a Nanking report. The property returned includes 11 steamplants of the Canton Paper Mill, ships, gunboats and 10,800 tons of copper and nickel coins. Antiques and valuable pictures were also returned.

JAP WOOL TEXTILE OUTPUT RISING

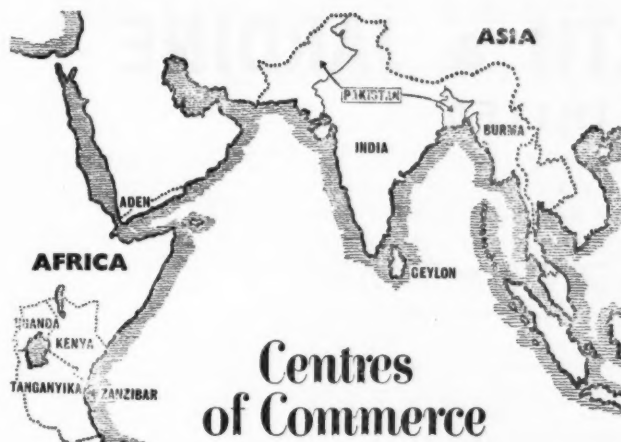
The production of woollen and worsted yarn and cloths in Japan during 1947 reached a total of 26,106,000 lbs. and 20,676,000 square yards respectively. For the first six months of 1948 the production of

woollen and worsted yarn was 11,424,000 lbs. and of woollen and worsted cloths 10,597,000 square yards. Stocks of wool in Japan at the end of June, 1949, amounted to 2,756,000 lbs. It is understood that the plan announced by the Commission for the Restoration of the Woollen Industry in Tokyo states that by 1950 the industry will have a working spindleage of 732,885, which is about 45 per cent. of its 1940 capacity of 1,628,554 spindles. Since the Japanese mills were permitted to enter into private trade negotiations there have been reports about the offering of Japanese wool textiles in India at less than current market prices. There is, however, no evidence as to the quantity involved or of the quality of the goods.

NUFFIELD TRACTOR

After several years of research into farming needs and two years of field trials, the Nuffield Organisation has produced the Nuffield Universal Tractor, which is described by the Company as "the newest British high-powered wheeled tractor and a new key to farm economy." The

BANKING IN TWO CONTINENTS



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NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA CONTROLS GRINDLAYS

The National Bank of India Ltd. has taken over the shares of Grindlays Bank Ltd., which had been held by the National Provincial Bank since 1924. The National Bank of India is registered in the U.K., with its head office in London and branches in India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Aden, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Grindlays Bank will continue to function as a separate unit under its own management and no major changes are contemplated in its organisation as a result of the new arrangement. Started as a small agents' business in 1828, Grindlays gradually grew into a general banking business which now includes a large number of commercial accounts in India and London and which experienced a most satisfactory development during the war. In 1942 Grindlays extended to Burma and Ceylon by the acquisition of Thos. Cook and Son (Bankers) Ltd., and their deposits, which in April, 1939, had been £3,484,626, had risen to

over £20 million in October, 1948. It is the intention of the National Bank of India to increase substantially the present capital and published reserves of Grindlays Bank as soon as the necessary formalities can be arranged.

STATE-OWNED MACHINE TOOL FACTORY FOR INDIA

India's annual requirements of machine tools is estimated at Rs.90,000,000. The major portion of the demand relates to production and precision types which are urgently required for the rehabilitation of existing factories and for extension programmes of essential services like railways, ordnance factories, etc. India's immediate problem is the production of this category of machine tools, without which it will not be possible to set up industrial output at an economic level. As a single State-owned unit, the factory will not by itself be in a position to meet the entire demand for all production and precision types. There will also be room for private enterprise in the manufacture of these categories. No organised machine tool industry existed in India before the

war. In spite of serious difficulties, machine tool production in the country rose from an insignificant output of 100 machines per annum to an output of about 6,000 machines annually during the war period. In 1946 there were 24 graded firms and about 100 ungraded firms manufacturing machine tools in the country. The total number of machine tools manufactured during that year was 8,810, valued at about Rs.17,500,000. In the current year there are 15 graded and some 52 ungraded firms engaged in the manufacture of machine tools.

The factory will be established with the active assistance of a leading machine tool manufacturer abroad. It will save capital investment of more than Rs.50,000,000.

CZECH-PAKISTAN TRADE

The Czech - Pakistan Trade Agreement as it stands at present covers a period of one year ending October 1st, 1949, and relates essentially to the exchange of commodities. The two Governments have agreed to encourage commercial relations between their respective countries and, with a view to assisting the development of

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their economies, have decided that a free flow of goods will be allowed in respect of articles and commodities mentioned in the Agreement. The Czechoslovak Government have further agreed to allow the import of sports goods from Pakistan.

TWO-YEAR PLAN FOR NORTH KOREA

According to Soviet reports from Phyeng-Yang, capital of North Korea, the country produced nearly four million tons of coal, 125,000 tons of metal and 322 tons of fertilisers, which considerably surpasses the level of past years. In his New Year speech, Mr. Kim Ir Sen, Prime Minister of the (North) Korean People's Democratic Republic, said that his country would begin work on its two-year plan of development of the national economy which was aiming at doubling the 1948 output by 1950.

AUSTIN SHIPMENTS TO FAR EAST
The Far Eastern exports of the Austin Motorcar Co., one of the six main manufacturers in Britain, have shown a marked increase in 1948. During the whole of 1947 the company ex-

ported 5,961 units to the area, whereas the total for the first eleven months of 1948 amounts to 6,709 units, details of which will be found in the following table:

Period January, 1948 - November, 1948				
	Cars	Vans	Trucks	Total
Burma ...	2	—	7	9
Ceylon	735	—	39	744
China	95	—	—	95
Dutch E. In. 264	—	—	65	329
Hong Kong 177	—	—	14	202
India	2,825	100	223	3,148
Japan	2	—	—	2
Malaya ... 1,400	77	132	—	1,609
Pakistan ... 245	10	105	—	360
Philippines 10	—	—	—	10
Siam	111	5	55	171
Total	5,866	203	640	6,709

RAW JUTE EXPORTS FROM PAKISTAN

Exports of raw jute from Pakistan to India, Brazil and the hard currency area will continue to be permitted without licence until June 30th, 1949. For other countries the destination quotas below have been fixed for the period January/June, 1949. Unshipped balances of quotas for June/December, 1948, can be exported up to June 30th, 1949.

Destination		Quota for January/June, 1949 (in tons)
1	United Kingdom ...	37,000
2	France ...	8,000
3	U.S.S.R. ...	6,000
4	Czechoslovakia ...	2,000
5	Italy ...	2,000
6	Poland ...	2,000
7	Yugoslavia ...	1,700
8	Hungary ...	1,000
9	Switzerland ...	1,000
10	Uruguay ...	1,000
11	Australia ...	800
12	Chile ...	500
13	Egypt ...	500
14	Eire ...	500
15	Iran ...	500
16	Sweden ...	500
17	Norway ...	300
18	Greece ...	200
19	Siam ...	100
20	New Zealand ...	50
21	Other countries ...	1,150

RESTRICTIONS ON JAPAN TRADE LIFTED

Allied-imposed restrictions on Japanese foreign trade are being eased in a plan to develop Japan's trade for peacetime uses, the Allied Far East

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Commission announced recently. All but the minimum of necessary regulations designed to prevent trade for other than peaceful purposes or the rise of monopolistic controls are being removed. Trade representatives from countries throughout the world will not be permitted to enter, reside and travel in Japan, subject only to the regulations deemed necessary by General MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. The F.E.C.'s decision states that Japan's foreign trade should be conducted in such a manner as to foster the balanced growth of trade to a level consistent with Japan's peaceful needs, encourage exports, and insure competitive conditions. In addition, the decision listed the categories of persons who will be permitted to enter and reside in Japan. These include merchants, traders, representatives of banks, insurance companies, airlines and shipping companies, and representatives of companies or individuals who had pre-war property interests in Japan.

Japanese exports are to be encouraged in order to help pay for the imports required to prevent "disease

and unrest in Japan, and for the re-establishment of a self-sustaining economy," as well as to make available to the world the goods that Japan can supply. Trade conditions are to be "free of contracts or arrangements which limit access to markets or foster monopolistic controls." Also, there is to be no "excessive concentration of economic power" or "monopolies in Japanese trade, whether with participation of Japanese or foreign capital." The announcement also states that there shall be "no discrimination against any foreign trade representative and all shall be accorded equality of opportunities to transact business. Business people coming into Japan under these conditions will be free to move about within Japan, "subject only to availability of transport and accommodation." Previous to this decision, the number of private traders admitted to Japan had been limited to 400 by the F.E.C.

MARKETS FOR BRITISH TYRES

Most Far Eastern countries, except those whose own production is sufficient to meet local needs, offer useful

markets for the British tyre industry, particularly those where dollar scarcity precludes imports from the U.S.A. Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Indo-China have no local tyre industry at present and Malaya has only cycle tyre factories operated by Chinese. China has two factories, one in Shanghai and one in Tsingtao, producing tyres of all kinds and several others in various parts of the country manufacturing only cycle tyres. Substantial imports would, however, be needed under normal conditions. The present situation in Korea and Manchuria is not known. Business with Indo-China is virtually confined to France, and with the Philippines to the U.S.A., by reason of preferential import tariffs.

Countries whose tyre requirements are fully met from domestic manufacture are India, which has two major factories located at Calcutta and Bombay, respectively, and Indonesia, where a factory in Java can normally—although not under present conditions—produce sufficient for domestic needs throughout the area. Japan is also self-sufficient, and before the war had a considerable export business.

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